

1650:SIGILL:COLL:HARVARD:CANTAB:NOV:ANGL:
CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE
BOSTON.
1806





THE HISTORY OF PERSIA,

FROM THE

MOST EARLY PERIOD

TO

THE PRESENT TIME:

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE

RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, USAGES, AND CHARACTER

OF THE

INHABITANTS OF THAT KINGDOM.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B., K.L.S.,

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

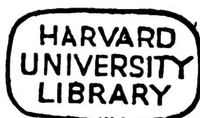
A NEW EDITION, REVISED, IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXIX



LONDON:
Printed by William Clowes,
Stamford-street.

DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION.

TO

THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.G.,

&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

To the flattering partiality with which you regarded and encouraged my efforts in the Public Service, I owe those opportunities which have enabled me to write the History of Persia. In dedicating it to your Lordship, therefore, I follow the impulse both of gratitude and of duty: but had these considerations not prompted me to offer you this sincere token of my respect and attachment, I might have claimed, on other grounds, the right of prefixing to this Work the Name of one, whose administration of the British Possessions in India has connected his fame with the history of almost every kingdom of Asia.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

With the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And obedient Servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

Whilst the annals of almost every nation that can boast of any political importance have been illustrated by eminent British writers, Persia seems hitherto to have been generally neglected. It must, therefore, be allowed to be highly desirable that this blank in our literature should be filled up, and that the English reader should be made acquainted with the history and condition of a people, who have in most ages acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of the world; and who have of late acquired peculiar claims to our attention, from the nature of their relations to British India, and from the renewal of their intercourse with the States of Europe. Though I have for many years contemplated such a work, as an object of utility and importance, a sense of my own want of qualifications as an author long deterred me from undertaking it. I had left my native country, and entered the army of India, at an age when those who aim at literary eminence are only commencing their studies; and when I first had opportunities of collecting the materials which form the basis of my present work, I neither enjoyed, nor had any prospect of enjoying,

the necessary leisure for putting them into a form to meet the public eye. A number of advantageous circumstances, however, concurred by degrees in ultimately removing the doubts which these difficulties had at first excited in my mind. During the last fifteen years, I have three times visited Persia in the charge of political missions; and I have for almost the whole of that period been intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations between that State and the British Government in India. The nature of my public employment, which led to my travelling over almost all the provinces of Persia, gradually improved the knowledge I had before possessed of that kingdom and its inhabitants; and a sense of duty, as well as the natural curiosity which I felt of investigating the state of a country so imperfectly known to Europeans, equally urged me to endeavour to amass useful information of every description; whilst it may be easily conceived that the diplomatic character with which I was invested greatly facilitated my progress in the attainment of this object.

What I have now said will shew that I do not come forward, as an author, with those pretensions which belong to men of high literary attainments; but that the prosecution of my public duties first led me to feel the want of a History of Persia, and subsequently involved me in an effort which, under other circumstances, I should never have contemplated. I do not, however, state this fact with a

view of deprecating criticism, or of claiming indulgence: I am fully aware that the fate of every work must be determined by its own merit, and have, therefore, laboured to render that which I have undertaken as complete as possible. I have studied perspicuity—I have sought truth; and my opinions, which are invariably expressed with freedom, may, perhaps, have some value, from being those of a man whose only lessons have been learned in the school of experience.

The History of Persia may be divided into two parts: the ancient and the modern. The former, which commences in the fabulous ages, terminates in the conquest of that country by the Caliph Omar, in the thirty-first year of the Hijrah. Throughout this period the Persians come in frequent contact with the great European nations of antiquity: but as my principal object in undertaking this work, was to supply information that could not be obtained from the historians of Greece and Rome, I have, in general, followed Eastern authors; and their narrations of the events of these distant periods will at least be deemed, by the European reader, a subject of just literary curiosity. The materials from which this part of my work is composed, are fully stated in the Appendix, which is, in fact, a dissertation upon the ancient history of Persia. I almost fear that this Appendix may be deemed too long. It necessarily recapitulates many events that had been pre-

viously stated: but I was more willing to meet the charge of tautology, than to run the risk of not rendering complete in itself this difficult and interesting branch of my subject.

In the modern parts of the History of Persia, I have studied brevity, as far as was consistent with the introduction of every fact that appeared of importance; but the subject was so copious and diverging, that it required a constant effort to confine myself within the proposed limits. In one point I have, perhaps, indulged in a greater latitude than has usually been assumed by writers of history. I have not unfrequently endeavoured to enliven and to illustrate my subject, by the relation of occurrences in which I was personally concerned. This I did under an impression that the character of nations, as well as individuals, may often be better appreciated from anecdotes, than from a mere narration of events; and when such passages occur, they will, in addition to that light which they throw upon facts and observations, serve to remind the reader of what I before stated,—that if I had not been a traveller I should never have been an historian.

In the course of this work I have carefully consulted every European author of eminence who has investigated the history and literature of the Oriental nations. But as I have always quoted, in my notes, the names of those by whose labour I have profited, it would be superfluous to mention them here, the more especially as their well-established reputation could derive no increase from my eulogiums.

I have to acknowledge, with sincere gratitude, the aid of those whom motives of personal friendship have induced to promote the success of this work. To the kindness of Sir James Mackintosh, and to that interest which he takes in every effort to illustrate Eastern history, I owe the greatest obligations. I am also much indebted to Mr. William Erskine* of Bombay, from whom I received several valuable communications; and I feel, that if my attempt to throw light upon the more remote periods of Persian history should prove satisfactory to the reader, I shall, in a very considerable degree, owe my success to Mr. Alexander Hamilton, of Hertford College, whose superior knowledge of every branch of Oriental literature enabled him to give me the most essential assistance in this difficult and important part of my work.

Before I left India I was indebted to Mr. N. H. Smith, late Envoy to the Court of Scind, for the communication of his Journals, and for remarks upon the character of the Arabian tribes settled on the shores of the Persian Gulf. I was also under obligations to Mr. Bruce, the present Resident of Abooshehr, for observations upon the constitution

* Since my return to England, I received a very interesting communication from Mr. Erskine on two sepulchral urns, found near Abooshehr, which had been sent to him by Mr. Bruce, the British Resident at that place. My observations on similar urns (Vol. I. p. 498) had been printed before I received Mr. Erskine's letter: but it was with the greatest satisfaction I found the opinions I had expressed upon this subject correspond with those of one, on whose learning and judgment I place great reliance.

of the Persian army, and the customs* of the wandering tribes; and I have received, since my return to England, some valuable information, upon the same subjects, from Mr. Cormick, Surgeon to the late Embassy in Persia, and from Mr. Willock, who has recently been appointed Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Teheran.

It remains to speak of those Officers who accompanied me to Persia, and who were alike led by zeal in the public service, and by personal regard for me, to assist in my researches to obtain information. To Captains Grant and Christie †, and Lieutenant Pottinger, who were deputed by me to explore and report upon the provinces of Mekran, Balochistan, and Seestan, which divide India from Persia, and who executed that difficult task with a spirit of enterprise that must ever reflect the highest honour on their

* I have received communications upon similar subjects from my friend Jaffier Ali Khan, an Indian nobleman, who has long resided at Shiraz; and I have, at different periods, obtained valuable memoirs, containing historical facts and anecdotes, from several Persians of rank and reputation, who are at present residing in that country, and some in high employment. When such information is referred to in the History, it is always marked Persian MS., as many reasons prevented my giving publicity to the names of those from whom I derived it.

† Captain Grant of the Bengal Establishment, and Captain Christie of that of Bombay, were employed by me, on account of their knowledge of the native languages, and the high reputation they had in the armies to which they belonged. Their success justified the selection: but I had soon afterwards to regret the loss of Captain Grant, who was murdered by banditti on his journey from Bagdad to Kermanshah; and Captain Christie lately fell in a contest between the Persians and Russians, in which he gallantly supported the reputation of British valour.

characters, I owe information, which is the more valuable as it could have been derived from no other source. I am also much indebted to the reports and communications of Captains Frederick and Josiah Stewart, Mr. Henry Ellis, Captain John Briggs, and Captain John M'Donald Kinnier. The latter officer has since acquired a just reputation by the publication of a Map and Geographical Memoir * on Persia, which is partly compiled from his own surveys and observations, and partly from those of the other Officers employed in my several Missions to that country, which I put into his hands with a confidence in his talents that has not been disappointed.

To my relation, Major Pasley, who accompanied me on all my Missions to Persia, and who early acquired an intimate knowledge of the language and character of the inhabitants of that country, I am indebted for important aid in every stage of this work. To Mr. Andrew Jukes my obligations are equally great. That gentleman, whose long residence in Persia was passed in the attainment of useful knowledge, communicated to me all the information he possessed; and I owe to his learning and research many important facts illustrative of the science and manners of the people I have endeavoured to describe.

I could dwell more than I have done upon this subject,

* Captain John M'Donald Kinnier has, since the publication of his Memoir, been employed in Asia Minor, and has traversed some of the least known parts of that celebrated country.

as there is no circumstance connected with my work so pleasing to my mind as the recollection of the assistance which I have received from those friends whose names have been mentioned. I might indeed swell this list, but I fear that I have already too far intruded my feelings upon the reader.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER XI.

CHAPTER XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

APPENDIX.

THE

HISTORY OF PERSIA.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS ON THE BOUNDARIES, MOUNTAINS, DESERTS, RIVERS, AND CLIMATE OF THE KINGDOM OF IRAN, OR PERSIA.

BEFORE we enter on the history of a people, it appears necessary to say a few words respecting the extent and nature of the country in which they dwell. The boundaries of Iran, which Europeans call Persia[a], have undergone many changes. The limits of this kingdom, in its most prosperous periods, may however be easily described: the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean[b] to the south, the Indus and the

[a] This word is generally supposed to be derived from Fars, or Pars, a division of the empire of Iran, and applied by Europeans to the whole. It is certainly unknown, in the sense we use it, to the present natives of Iran, though some Asiatic writers contend that Fars formerly meant the whole kingdom. In proof of this, a passage of the Koran is quoted, where one of Mahomed's companions, who came from a village near Isfahan, is called Selman of Fars or Pars. We have also the authority of the Scripture for the name Paras* or Phars. The authors of the Universal History,† on what authority I know not, state, that Iran is not a general name of Persia, but of a part of that country. This is certainly erroneous: Iran has, from the most ancient times to the present day, been the term by which the Persians call their country; and it includes, as they understand it, all the provinces to the east of the Tigris, Assyria Proper, Media, Parthia, Persia, and Hyrcania or Mazenderan. The whole of this country has probably been styled Pars or Persia in the Bible, and by Greek and Roman writers since Cyrus.

[b] Persian geographers assume more magnificent limits for their ancient empire: they say it included four seas and six great rivers: the Black Sea,

* It is so named in Daniel, Ezra, &c. † Vol. V. p. 50.

Oxus to the east and north-east, the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus to the north, and the River Euphrates to the west. The most striking features of this extensive country, are deserts and mountains; amid which are interspersed beautiful valleys and rich pastures. From the mouths of the Indus, to those of the Karoon and the Euphrates, the narrow strip of arid and level country which lies between the mountains and the sea, bears a greater resemblance in soil and climate to Arabia, than to Persia. Although this tract extends in length for more than twenty degrees, it cannot boast of one river[c] that is navigable above a few miles from the ocean. The appearance of this coast is almost everywhere the same, a succession of sandy plains; but the eye is occasionally relieved by large plantations of date-trees, and by patches of cultivation near the wells and fresh-water rivulets, which are thinly scattered over this extensive barren region. Inland, from the chain of mountains nearest the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, unto the Oxus in one direction and the Caspian Sea in another, the most marked features are nearly the same; a succession of mountains and valleys of different elevation and extent. There are only a few among the former of very extraordinary height, though many ranges have continual snow upon their summits. None of the valleys are broad; but some are of great length, often exceeding a hundred miles. The only tracts within this empire which spread wide, without the interruption of mountains, are salt deserts, of which there are several; one of the most remarkable is that extending from the banks of the Heirmund River[d] in Seistan, to the range of hills which divide

the Red Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Persian Gulf; the Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, Phasis, Indus, and Oxus.

[c] The Tzab, which divides Fars from Khuzistan, is navigable for boats as far as Endian, a distance of 16 miles from the sea.

[d] I have written Heirmund, because it is generally so termed by Persian authors; but it is also called Helmund. This fine river, (the Etymander of the ancients,) which takes its rise in the mountains of Hazara to the north of Cabul, flows through Seistan, fertilizing part of that arid province, and empties itself into the Lake of Zerah.

that province from lower Mekran, a distance of about four hundred miles. This may be deemed the extreme length of the desert. Its breadth from Noosky, a village in Sarawan[c], to Jalk, in upper or northern Mekran, is nearly two hundred miles. The salt desert, which reaches from the vicinity of Koom and Kashan to the provinces of Mazenderan and Khorassan, is as long and some miles broader than that of Seistan, with which it unites. The exact nature of this vast wilderness is little known. It abounds with salt marshes, and encircles the Sea of Zerah, or Lake of Seistan. In many of its dry parts it presents to the eye either a crusted coat of brittle earth, or a succession of sand-hills. The latter have in general the shape of waves, and consist of particles of red sand, so light as to be hardly palpable, which, scattered by the violent north-west winds that prevail throughout the summer months, form a moving cloud, often alike destructive to animal and to vegetable life.

The influence of this great desert on the countries in its vicinity and on the same level with it, is very great. They are subject to extreme heats: the temperature of Kashan was found, from observations made by Fahrenheit's thermometer, to be about twenty degrees warmer than that of Kohrood, a village twenty-five miles from it, in a small valley, on the top of a range of hills, which were certainly not of a height to account for this great difference of temperature, from the mere difference of elevation. The hills in the interior of Persia are not quite so barren as the ranges which meet the eye of the navigator of the Indian Sea and the Persian Gulf; but none, except those of Mazenderan and of Georgia, are covered with forests. In the north-western parts of Kurdistan, in parts of Fars and Khorassan, there are woods intermixed with large trees; but most of the mountains in Persia are either bare, or thinly clad with underwood.

The valleys in the central provinces of Persia abound with

[c] A district in Mekran.

the rarest and most valuable vegetable productions, and might be cultivated to any extent. The pasture grounds are not surpassed by any lands in the world. Trees are seldom found, except near the towns or villages; but the luxuriance with which they grow wherever planted, shows that the climate is congenial to them. The orchards of Persia produce all the fruits of the temperate zone; and its wilds abound with flowers that can only be reared in the gardens of Europe by care and cultivation. Though there is a resemblance in the principal features of the surface of this kingdom, some of its provinces are marked by a very distinct appearance. In Fars, Irak, and Khorassan, the valleys are generally level. In Aderbijan they appear like a succession of eminences between hills; and Kurdistan may be almost termed one immense cluster of small mountains, occasionally intersected by loftier ranges; on the top of which, as in every other part of Persia, are table-lands, which, from their great elevation, are subject to extreme cold[f].

Persia has hardly one river which can be termed navigable, unless the Euphrates and the Tigris may be considered as belonging to it. The Karoon in Khuzistan, the Arras or Araxes in Aderbijan, and the Heirmund which flows through the province of Seistan, are the largest within its ordinary limits. The rains, except in Mazenderan, are neither frequent nor heavy; and the want of water is undoubtedly the great obstacle to the general fertility of the country. In its more prosperous days[g], astonishing efforts were made by the inhabitants to overcome this natural defect: but the local situation of Persia was unhappy; and the ravages of barbarous invaders often destroyed in a day the labours of

[f] In the year 1810, when encamped on the plain of Hubatoo in Kurdistan, the water in my tent froze to near half an inch thick on the 17th of August. The latitude was thirty-six degrees north, and Fahrenheit's thermometer at six A. M. stood at thirty-four.

[g] In the small, but fine, district of Nishabore in Khorassan, there are said to have been twelve thousand water-courses.

a century, and made a nation recede in despair from its progress in improvement.

The climate is very various. It is not more affected by the difference of latitude, than by the opposite nature of the soil, and by the remarkable inequalities of the surface in almost all the provinces. The greater part of the country, as has been stated, is a succession of plains at the base of those ridges of hills by which it is intersected and of table-lands nearly on a level with their tops. To pass from the lower valleys to the higher, is to change the temperature of summer for that of winter. But the climate, though various, is healthy; and few countries can boast a more robust, active, and well-formed race of men. Its animals (particularly the horses and dogs) are of uncommon size, strength, and beauty. The vegetable productions have been noticed. In the mountains some valuable minerals are found, but none in any abundance; and Persia has consequently been always indebted to foreign countries for lead, iron, silver, and gold.

Chapter II.

THE PAISHDADIAN DYNASTY OF PERSIAN KINGS.

If we desire to be fully informed of a nation's history, we must not reject the fables under which the few remaining traces of its origin are concealed. However extravagant, they always merit attention. They have an influence on the character of the people to whom they relate. They mix with their habits, their literature, and sometimes with their religion. They become, in short, national legends, which it is sacrilege to doubt; and to question the deeds of Roostum would raise, in the breast of a Persian, all those feelings which would be excited in an Englishman if he heard a foreigner detract from the name of Alfred. Such heroes often rise in importance (so far as their example is of value) in proportion as their real history is lost in obscurity: they are adopted as models by painters and poets; every human virtue is ascribed to them; and men are taught their duty from fables decorated with names which they have learnt to venerate from their cradle, and the love of which is cherished with all the enthusiasm of national pride.

According to all Mahomedan writers, except the author of the Dabistan[h], Kaiomurs[i] was the first monarch of

[h] According to the Dabistan, Kaiomurs was preceded by an earlier race of monarchs and prophets. This work states that Mah-abad and his wife were the parents of the present race of men, and the last individuals left of the former cycle. For the fire-worshippers believe, as the Hindus do of their Kalpas, that there have been innumerable periods or cycles, each of which in succession has been peopled by a male and female spared out of the cycle that preceded it. But who were the first progenitors of mankind, and whence they came, they deem impossible to be discovered.

Mah-abad left a numerous progeny, whom he drew from a savage state, into which they early fell, and, aided by divine power, he civilised them, giving them a taste for the arts and the luxuries of life. He had

Persia. They follow the chronology of the Jews, and trace his descent from Noah. He is said[k] to have reclaimed his subjects from a state of the most savage barbarity. He was, we are told by one author[l], the son of Yessan-Ajum, while others call him the grandson of Noah[m]: all agree in acknowledging him the founder of a dynasty, known in history as that of the Paishdadians, or first distributors of justice.

The efforts of Kaiomurs to civilise mankind were in

thirteen successors, who were at once the monarchs and high-priests of the country; but the last, called Azer-abad, abdicated the throne, and retired to a life of solitary devotion. On this a scene of murder, rapine, and every enormity, ensued; and the human race, becoming like beasts of prey, returned to their rude habitations in caverns and mountains.

A devout man, named Jy-affram, was now intreated to assume the government and restore the institutions of Mah-abad; but he refused till enjoined by the angel Gabriel, who brought the divine commands. His successors made the Jy-anian dynasty; the last of them was Jy-abad, who, after a happy reign, suddenly disappeared, and the empire fell again into confusion. Order was restored by one of his sons, named Shah Kedeer, the last of whose successors was Mahabool, whose depravity was such as caused him to be driven from the throne, to which his eldest son Yessan was raised, and his dynasty terminated with Yessan-Ajum, at the end of whose reign the human race had become so wicked, that God caused them to destroy each other by their mutual contentions, and the few that remained fled to the woods and mountains: at this period the all-merciful Creator called Kaiomurs, or Gilshah, to the throne.

The periods of time assigned to each dynasty exceed all human belief, and appear to be calculations applicable to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and not dates referable to real history. Thus the Jy-anian race is said to have reigned one asper, or a thousand millions of years.

Such is the account contained in the Dabistan, a Persian work compiled in India, and for which the Dessateer is quoted as the authority; but its recent publication has diminished the respect once entertained for its opinions. For a critical examination of these two works, see an admirable paper by Mr. Erskine, in the second volume of the *Bombay Transactions.*

[i] He is also known by his title of Gilshah, or King of the Earth.

[k] Ferdosi.

[l] Zeenut ul Tuarikh.

[m] Zeenut ul Tuarikh. The author of this work states, that the word Kaiomurs is Syriac, and signifies Hy-Natuck, or the Living Word. I confess my entire ignorance of this derivation.

the beginning only successful with his own family; the rest retained their savage habits, and carried on a war against him, during which his son, Siamuck, was slain in battle. The first of Persian poets[n] has described these wars in a work founded, no doubt, on the most ancient histories and traditions, but heightened by his own rich imagination, and clouded by a thousand fables. In his page these barbarous enemies of Kaiomurs, are termed deevs[o], or magicians; and when that monarch carried Houshung, the infant son of Siamuck, to share in the revenge he meant to take upon his enemies, his army, according to the poet[p], was joined by all the lions, tigers, and panthers, in his dominions; and the deevs were routed and torn to pieces in their flight by the auxiliaries who had left their native forests to aid the just king[q]. After this victory, Kaiomurs retired to his capital of Bulkh[r], where, according to one author, he resigned his crown to his grandson, Houshung; while another[s] asserts, that he died and was succeeded by that prince. Both state that he reigned thirty years.

Houshung, the second Paishdadian king, was renowned for justice and wisdom; but we find a great difference

[n] Ferdosi.

[o] *Deev* means magician: in Sanscrit it means a brahman, perhaps from some of that tribe pretending to be sorcerers: but such is the term which barbarous men in all ages have applied to their enemies or neighbours who had more art or knowledge than themselves. The rude inhabitants of Tartary, at the present day, gravely assure you that the Chinese are deevs or magicians.

[p] Ferdosi.

[q] In another account of this war, his army is said to have suffered greatly from the unhealthiness of the country into which he marched; but he was relieved by a divine revelation, made through a voice which spoke from the mountain, and told him his enemies were asleep in a neighbouring forest, where he instantly marched and destroyed them.—*Zeenut ul Tuarikh.*

[r] This city, which lies in 36° 28′ of north latitude, and in 65° 16′ of east longitude, appears to have continued during a long period the capital of the ancient kings of Persia.

[s] Zeenut ul Tuarikh.

among Persian authors, both as to the events and the period of his reign. He is said to have founded some noble cities, and to have invented[t] many useful arts; and his name is perpetuated in Persia as the first constructor of aqueducts[u]. A work[x] of some merit, which has been quoted by Persian writers, is ascribed to him. He reigned forty years, and was succeeded by his son, Tahamurs, commonly called Deev-bund, or the Magician-binder[y]; a title he derived from his success in warring against the enemies of his family. According to Persian fable, he was aided in those wars by the supernatural wisdom of his prime minister, Sheerasp, who, we are informed, used all kinds of spells and enchantments to entrap the deevs. The latter, however, would appear to have been superior to their conquerors in knowledge; for it is confessed[z] that a number of them who were prisoners, redeemed their lives from Tahamurs by teaching him to read and write. We learn from the author who records these events, that the worship of idols was first introduced under this prince; and the account of its origin appears very natural. A malignant disease had raged so long in Persia, that men, distracted at losing many of their dearest friends and relations, desired to

[t] Ferdosi states that Houshung first discovered fire by the collision of flint stones, and ordained its worship as the Nour-e-Khodah, or Light of God.

[u] These aqueducts are made by a succession of small wells a few yards distant from each other, and of such depth as the level and soil require; they are connected at the bottom by a channel, large enough for a man to pass and clear it. These wells commence at a spring, and not only convey its waters, but that of such other springs as are found in the course of the canal; they are common through Persia. The water is applied to irrigation.

[x] The Jauveedan Khird, or Eternal Wisdom.

[y] The Greeks termed all others barbarians; and many Asiatic nations represent the enemies of their earlier power as demons and giants. When Buddu and his successors conquered Ceylon, they are stated in the Cingalese Records to have extirpated the devils by whom that island was then possessed.

[z] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

preserve the memory of them by busts and images, which they kept in their houses, as some consolation under their affliction. These images were transmitted to a posterity by whom they were still more venerated; and in the course of time the memorials of tender regard were elevated into objects of adoration[a].

Tahamurs governed Persia thirty years. He was succeeded by his nephew, the famous Jemsheed[b], a prince

[a] The following passage from the authentic Travels of William de Rubruquis, a monk, who was sent, in A.D. 1253, by Louis the Ninth of France, (commonly called St. Louis,) to the Court of Mangou Khan, the grandson of Chenghiz, is a remarkable illustration of this passage. The author writes from the City of Cailac, in Tartary. "After I had sat awhile," he observes, "with these priests, and entered into their temple, and seen many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them, What they believed concerning God? They answered, We believe that there is only one God. Whether do you believe that he is a spirit or some bodily substance? They said, We believe that he is a spirit. Then said I, Do you believe that God ever took man's nature upon him? They answered, No. Again I said, Since you believe that he is a spirit, to what end do you make so many bodily images to represent him? Since also you believe that he was not made man, why do you rather represent him by the image of a man than of any other creature? Then they answered, We frame not these images to represent God: but when any rich man amongst us, or his son, or his wife or any of his friends dieth, he causeth the image of the dead person to be made, and to be placed here; and we, in remembrance of him, do reverence thereunto. I replied then, Do you these things only for friendship and out of flattery to man? No, said they, but out of regard to their memories.

"And again," this author observes, "the Moals [Moghuls] or Tartars are, in this regard, of their sect; that is to say, they believe there is but one God; yet they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, covering them with five most rich and costly garments, and putting them in one or two carts, which carts no man dare touch; and these are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are their priests, concerning whom I will give your highness an account more at length hereafter."* Similar is the account given of the origin of idolatry in the book of Wisdom, c. xiv. 15.

[b] Jemsheed was the first who discovered wine. He was immoderately fond of grapes, and desired to preserve some, which were placed in a large vessel and lodged in a vault for future use. When the vessel was opened, the grapes had fermented: their juice was so acid, that the king believed it must be poisonous: he had some bottles filled with it, and poison written upon each: these were placed in his room. It happened that one of his favourite

* Harris's Travels, Vol. i. p. 570.

celebrated as the founder of Persepolis[c], which is to this day called Tukht-e-Jemsheed, or the Throne of Jemsheed. To him Persian authors attribute the invention of many useful arts; and refer the first great reform in the manners and usages of his countrymen. He divided his subjects, they inform us, into four classes. The first consisted of learned and pious men, devoted to the worship of God; the duty assigned to them was to make known to others what was and what was not lawful The second were writers, whose employment was to keep the records and accounts of the state. Soldiers formed the third, who were directed to occupy themselves in military exercises, that they might be fitted for war. The fourth class were artificers, husbandmen, and tradesmen[d]. Jemsheed also introduced the solar year; and ordered the first day of it, when the sun entered Aries, to be celebrated by a splendid festival[e]. The early part of his reign was prosperous beyond all example; but, immersed in luxury, he at last forgot the source whence his good fortune flowed, and proclaimed himself a deity; directing his statues to be multiplied, that the Persians might adore the image of their king, as the dispenser

ladies was affected with nervous head-aches: the pain distracted her so much, that she desired death: observing a battle with poison written on it, she took it and swallowed its contents. The wine, for such it had become, overpowered the lady, who fell into a sound sleep, and awoke much refreshed. Delighted with the remedy, she repeated the doses so often, that the king's poison was all drunk. He soon discovered this, and forced the lady to confess what she had done. A quantity of wine was made; and Jemsheed and all his court drank of the new beverage, which, from the manner of its discovery, is to this day known in Persia by the name of zeher-e-khoosh, or the delightful poison.—Moullah Ackber's MSS.

[c] This city is called both Istakhr and Tukht-e-Jemsheed by the Persians.

[d] The authorities on which we give the history of Jemsheed make no mention of Mah-abad; but if we are to credit the Dabistan, the institutions of Jemsheed can only have been a revival of those of that lawgiver.

[e] It is called Nouroze, or new year's day, and is still the greatest festival in Persia. Some of the sculptures of Persepolis are supposed to represent the processions at this festival.

of all earthly good. This act of daring impiety disgusted his subjects, and encouraged the Syrian prince, Zohauk[f], to invade Persia. The unfortunate Jemsheed fled before a conqueror, who was deemed the instrument of divine vengeance. The wanderings of the exiled monarch are wrought into a tale, which is among the most popular in Persian romance. His first adventure was in the neighbouring province of Seistan[g], where the only daughter of the ruling prince was led, by a prophecy of her nurse, to fall in love with him, and to contract a secret marriage: but the unfortunate Jemsheed was pursued through Seistan, India, and China, by the agents of the implacable Zohauk, and was at last seized and carried before his cruel enemy like a common malefactor. Here his miseries closed: for, after enduring all that proud scorn could inflict upon fallen greatness, he was placed[h] between two boards, and sawn asunder[i] with the bone of a fish.

There are various accounts of the descent of Zohauk, who now became the sovereign of Persia. Some historians[k], make him an Arabian, but descended from Kaiomurs: others trace his descent to Shedad, and term him a Syrian; and it has even been conjectured that he was the Nimrod of the Bible. All agree that he was of a cruel and sanguinary temper. He is described as having had two dreadful cancers on his shoulders, which the Persian fabulists have changed into snakes[l], whose hunger nothing could

[f] This prince was the descendant of Shedad, and, according to some authors, the nephew of Jemsheed.

[g] Called also Zabulistan, which is the ancient name.

[h] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[i] Such is the most popular account of Jemsheed's reign; regarding whom, however, authors differ very widely. Ferdosi says, that his reign lasted seven hundred years; and adds, that when the news of his death reached the Court of Seistan, his widow put an end to her existence with poison: but she left a son, whose descendant, Roostum, became the boast and glory of his country.

[k] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] The whole of Zohauk's history is a fable: the story of the snakes is

appease but the brains of human beings. Two of his subjects were slain daily to furnish the horrid meal; till the indignation of Kâwâh, a blacksmith of Isfahan, whose two sons were on the point of being sacrificed, relieved the empire from this tyrant, and raised Feridoon, a Paishdadian prince, to the throne.

Feridoon was the son of Abten, an immediate descendant of Tahamurs. He had escaped in an almost miraculous manner from Zohauk, when that prince seized and murdered his father [m]. At the age of sixteen he joined Kâwâh, who had collected a large body of his countrymen: the Persians fought with enthusiasm under the standard of the blacksmith's apron [n], which continually reminded them of the just cause of their revolt; and the presence of their young prince made them invincible. Zohauk, after numerous defeats, was made prisoner, and put to a slow and painful death, as some punishment for his crimes.

evidently allegorical, and was probably designed to represent the fatal consequences of yielding to evil temptation. We are told by Ferdosi, that the Devil persuaded Zohauk to murder his virtuous father, Murdas: and afterwards tempted him to eat flesh, which, in those days, was considered a great sin. As a reward for the enjoyments he had obtained for him, Satan entreated Zohauk's permission to kiss his shoulders; which his lips no sooner touched, than a hissing serpent appeared on each. These were expected to produce his immediate death; but the monarch was assured by the Devil, who had assumed the form of a physician, that if the serpents were fed with the brains of human beings, he need apprehend no danger. The remedy was tried, and proved successful; and Persia, but for the courage of Kâwâh, would have been depopulated by this diabolical device.

[m] He also slew the peasant who had sheltered Feridoon in the mountains, and the cow which had nourished him with her milk. The name of this cow was Pourmaiah; and Feridoon, in honour of its memory, carried an iron mace with a cow's head, as his weapon, in battle. It was called the gurz gowesir, or the club with the cow's head.

[n] Feridoon's first act was to convert this apron into the royal standard of Persia. As such, it was richly ornamented with jewels; to which every king added, from Feridoon to the last of the Pehlivi monarchs. It was called the Derufsh-e-Kâwânee, (the standard of Kâwâh,) and continued to be the royal standard of Persia till the Mahomedan conquest, when it was taken in battle by Saad-e-Wukaas, and sent to the Caliph Omar.

A Persian poet[o], alluding to the victories which the youthful Feridoon obtained over Zohauk, and to the enchantments by which the latter was guarded, and the manner in which they were overcome by his antagonist, beautifully exclaims[p]: "The happy Feridoon was not an angel; he was not formed of musk or amber: it was by his justice and generosity that he gained good and great ends. Be thou just and generous, and thou shalt be a Feridoon."

The crimes of his elder sons, which embittered the latter years of Feridoon, have given rise to one of the most affecting tales in Persian romance; indeed it is only in that form that there remains any record of these events. This virtuous monarch had three sons, Selm, Toor, and Erij. The two former were by one mother, the daughter of Zohauk; the latter by a princess of Persia[q]. After these three princes had been united in marriage to three daughters of a king of Arabia, Feridoon determined to divide his dominions among them. To Selm he gave the countries comprehended in modern Turkey; to Toor[r], Tartary and part of China; and to Erij[s], Persia. The princes departed for their respective governments; but the two eldest were displeased that Persia, the fairest of

[o] Sadi.

[p] "Feridoon e ferokh, ferishta na boud;
Z-mishk, ou z-amber, serishta, na boud:
Be dad ou dahish, yaft an neekoee;
Tu-dad, ou dahish kun, Feridoon touee."—*Gulistan.*

[q] Her name was Irandocht, or daughter of Iran; her father was Shahmurd.

[r] From him Eastern authors derive Turan, formerly the Persian name for all the countries between the Jaxartes and the Oxus in one direction, and the Caspian and the boundaries of China in another.

[s] Many Persian historians derive the name of Iran from this prince. Moullah Firoze, an excellent Pehlivi scholar, tells me it is the plural of Eer, and means the country of believers; but Erij might have taken his name from the same word. Eeron or Aron, I am told, signifies mountainous in Hebrew; and the face of the country certainly favours this latter etymology.

lands and the seat of royalty, should have been given to their younger brother; and they combined to effect his ruin. They first sent[t] to their father, to reproach him with his partiality and injustice, and to demand a revision of his act, threatening an immediate attack if their request was refused. The old king was greatly distressed. He represented that his days were drawing to a close, and entreated that he might be allowed to depart in peace. Erij discovered what was passing, and resolved to go to his brothers and lay his crown at their feet, rather than continue the cause of a dissension that afflicted his father. He prevailed on the old king to consent to this measure, and carried a letter from their parent to Selm and Toor, intreating that they should live together in peace. This appeal had no effect, and Erij was slain[u] by his brothers[x]; who had the barbarity to embalm his head and send it to Feridoon. The old man is said to have fainted at the sight. When he recovered, he seized with frantic grief the head of his beloved son, and, holding it in his raised hands, called upon Heaven to punish the base perpetrators of so unnatural and cruel a deed. "May they never more," he

[t] Ferdosi.

[u] Ferdosi.

[x] The remonstrance of Erij to his brothers when they resolved to slay him is given by Ferdosi in some very fine and affecting lines.

> "Pusundee, ou hem dastanee koonee,
> Ke jan daree, ou jan sitanee koonee:
> My aza mouree, ke danah kush est:
> Ke jan dared, ou jan shereen khoosh est."

> "Will you ever allow it to be recorded
> That you possessing life deprive others of that blessing?
> Pain not the ant that drags the grain along the ground;
> It has life, and life is sweet and delightful to all to whom it belongs."

The last couplet has been translated by Sir William Jones into English verse. We are told, in a Persian work of celebrity,* that a person dreamt he saw Ferdosi composing, and an angel guiding his pen: he looked near, and discovered that he had just written the above couplet, in which he so emphatically pleads for humanity to the smallest insect.

* The Attash Kuddah.

exclaimed, "enjoy one bright day! May the demon of remorse tear their savage bosoms[y], till they excite compassion even in the wild beasts of the forest! As to me, I only desire from the God who gave me life, that he will continue it till a descendant shall arise from the race of Erij to revenge his death; then this head will repose with joy on whatever spot is appointed to receive it."

The daughter[z] of Erij was married to the nephew of Feridoon; and their young son, Meenucheher[a], proved the image of his grandfather. This child became the cherished hope of the aged monarch; who, when the young prince attained manhood, made every preparation to enable him to revenge the blood of Erij. Selm and Toor trembled as they saw the day of retribution approach; they sent ambassadors with rich presents to their father, and intreated that Meenucheher might be sent to them, that they might stand in his presence like slaves, and wash away the remembrance of their crimes by tears of contrition. Feridoon returned their presents; and in his reply to their message expressed his indignation in glowing words: "Tell the merciless men, that they shall never see Meenucheher but attended by armies, and clothed in steel[b]."

A war commenced; in the first battle Toor was slain by the lance of Meenucheher. Selm retired to a fortress, whence he was drawn by a challenge from the youthful hero, who was victorious in this combat; and the event restored tranquillity to the empire. When Meenucheher returned in triumph, the venerable Feridoon advanced on foot to meet him: the prince dismounted as he approached, and, after kissing the ground[c], received his con-

[y] This passage is almost literal from the page of Ferdosi.

[z] The name of the lady was Peri-cheher, or Fairy-face; that of her husband, Pushung.

[a] The literal meaning of Meenucheher is Paradise-face.

[b] Ferdosi.

[c] Kissing the ground appears to have been a very ancient usage in Persia. In the Battle of the Chase, (a canto in the Shah Namah,) Roostum and his

gratulations. Feridoon soon afterwards died; before he expired, he placed his crown on the head of the grandson of Erij, advising him to attend to the counsel of Sam[d], a nobleman of great wisdom and high birth, who was hereditary Prince of Seistan. Persian authors inform us, that Feridoon reigned five hundred years. They add, that he was the first monarch who ever rode upon an elephant, or brought those animals into use in war[e]. His wisdom and goodness have been universally celebrated. His testament, addressed to his descendants, contained the following admirable lesson to monarchs: "Deem every day in your life a leaf in your history; take care, therefore, that nothing be written in it which is not worthy of posterity."

Meenucheher[f] was a good and pious monarch: but the great prosperity of his reign was chiefly owing to the wisdom and courage of his prime minister, Sam, whose descendants obtained a celebrity which has led Persian historians and poets to speak only of the events connected with their lives. The eldest son of Sam, we are informed, was born with white hair: this greatly distressed his father, who in consequence named him Zal, or the aged. Soon after his birth, Sam was persuaded that the infant was not his own but that of some deev or magician; under that impression, he sent it to be exposed on Elburz[g], a lofty mountain, which the Persian historian describes as "near the sun, and far from mankind." Here fabulists relate that the

heroes are represented as drinking the health of Kai Kaoos, in bumpers of Zabul wine, before the action commenced. "They first," the poet says, "pronounced the name of their king, then drank, and falling prostrate, kissed the ground."

[d] The son of Jemsheed, by the beautiful Princess of Seistan, was called Atrut; his son was Gurshasp, whose son was Neriman, the father of Sam, whose son Zal was the father of Roostum.

[e] Ferdosi.

[f] This prince is supposed to be the Mandaces of the Greeks.

[g] Ferdosi. This mountain, or rather range of mountains, is near the modern city of Teheran.

young Zal was nurtured by a simurgh[h], or griffin. But Sam was soon induced to repent of his unnatural conduct; for he heard a divine voice exclaim: "That infant which a father abandoned, is now the care of the universal Protector[i]." He went to Elburz, where he humbled himself before God; and his son was restored. They embraced, and Zal went with him to the Court of Meenucheher: the father was soon afterwards appointed governor of Seistan, Cabul, and all the countries to the north of the Indus[k]; to which he immediately proceeded, accompanied by his newly discovered son.

The first adventure which the poet[l] records of Zal, is that which led to all his renown, as it made him the father of the hero of his country, the great Roostum, whose name occupies so large a space in Eastern history, or rather romance, that it must prove an excuse for the narration of the fabulous particulars connected with his birth.

One day, when hunting, Zal came to the foot of a tower, on one of the turrets of which he saw a young damsel of the most exquisite beauty. They mutually gazed and loved; but there appeared no mode of reaching the battlement. After much embarrassment[m], an expedient occurred to the maiden: she loosened her dark and beautiful tresses, which fell in ringlets to the bottom of the tower, and enabled the enamoured prince to ascend. The lady proved to be Rou-

[h] It is possibly to this fable that Grecian historians allude when they relate that Achæmenes was nurtured by an eagle. He is termed the founder of the greatest family in Persia: some authors state that he was the second of this family. Supposing Sam (who is, according to Persian authors, the founder of the greatest family in their country) the Perseus of the Greeks; Zal, who was nursed by a simurgh, a fabulous bird, was his son. It is certain, that all these heroes had many names or titles. Perseus and some word like Achæmenes may have been those of Sam and Zal; but I am very little inclined to venture on this field of endless conjecture.

[i] Ferdosi.

[k] There appears no authority to conclude that the possessions of the ancient kings of Persia were ever permanently extended beyond the Indus.

[l] Ferdosi.

[m] Ferdosi.

dabah, the daughter of Mehrab, king of Cabul, a prince of the race of Zohauk. The love which this extraordinary interview gave rise to, ended in a marriage, approved both by Sam and the royal father of the princess; and we are assured that all was happiness, till the pains of Roudabah threatened her husband with the loss of his beloved. The griffin, who had nurtured Zal on Elburz, had given him, at parting, some of her feathers, and directed him to burn one whenever he was in extreme distress. He did so now, and his kind nurse appeared. She told him that it was necessary to make an incision in the side of Roudabah, and gave him some intoxicating drugs[n], which, when administered to the princess, would make her insensible to pain. Zal did as he was directed, and the giant child was cut from the side of his mother, who was soon restored to perfect health. The infant was named Roostum. Seven nurses[o] were assigned for his support, but proved insufficient; nearly as many sheep were soon required for his daily sustenance. Such is the fabulous account of the birth of the hero of Persia. His deeds have been magnified into miracles by the poet who describes them; and thus his history is enveloped in romance. One of his principal achievements, during the reign of Meenucheher, was the conquest of the Kullah Suffeed[p], in the province of Fars. This fort lies about seventy-six miles north-west of Shiraz, situated on a high hill, that is almost perpendicular on every side. It is of an oblong form, and incloses a level space at the top of the mountain, which is covered with delightful verdure, and watered by numerous springs. The ascent is nearly three miles; for the last five or six hundred yards, the summit is so difficult of approach, that the slightest opposition, if well directed, must render it

[n] According to one copy, they gave her wine.

[o] Ferdosi.

[p] This means the White Fort; so called, no doubt, from its appearance. It has still the same name.

impregnable[q]. In the rude state of military science, it cannot be surprising that even Roostum failed in subduing by force such a fortress. After a tedious blockade, he had recourse to stratagem. Having disguised himself as a dealer in salt, of which he knew the garrison was much in want, he put bags upon his camels, and, in place of the article in which he pretended to trade, concealed an armed man in each bag. No suspicion was excited. The attack commenced after it was dark. The garrison, though surprised, made a desperate resistance; and it was not till daylight that Roostum obtained possession of the fort, in which he is said to have found immense treasure[r].

Meenucheher died, after a reign of one hundred and twenty years. On his death-bed, he entreated his son, Nouzer[s], to trust to Sam and his descendants as the best supporters of his throne. But that prince forgot his father's advice almost as soon as he obtained the crown, and never even consulted the advisers of his father, until he saw his subjects on the point of rebellion, from their resentment of his cruel and oppressive rule. He then sent for Sam, who, the moment he arrived at court, was solicited[t] to take upon himself the government of the country. This he refused; but promised his efforts to reclaim the unworthy monarch, whose vices and weakness had led Pushung, the King of Turan[u], to threaten an attack of Persia with thirty thousand men, commanded by his son, Afrasiab. The pretext of this war was, to revenge on the Persians

[q] I am indebted for this description to Lieutenant M'Donald, who visited this fort in 1810. It was then in possession of the tribe of Mumasenni, one of the aboriginal tribes of Persia. Their means of defence were probably still the same as in the days of Roostum: a line of large stones ranged in regular order around the edges of the precipice. Each stone is wedged in by a smaller: when that is removed, the large stone, or rather rock, is hurled down, and sweeps every thing before it.

[r] Ferdosi.

[s] The Sosarmes of Greek history.

[t] Ferdosi.

[u] Scythia.

the death of Selm and Toor. The real cause was the distracted state of the kingdom; and the troops of Turan were encouraged as they advanced, by hearing of the death of Sam, from which they anticipated every success. Nor were they mistaken: two engagements and two single combats,—in one of which Kobad, the son of the famous Káwâh, was killed; in the other, Nouzer himself was discomfited by Afrasiab,—placed the diadem of Persia upon the head of the latter, who soon afterwards took Nouzer prisoner and slew him. This happened in the seventh year of the reign of that unfortunate monarch, who exhibited in his combat with the Tartar prince a personal courage, such as redeemed his memory from contempt.

After the death of Nouzer, Afrasiab ruled Persia for twelve years. Having seized all the chief nobles, he determined to put them to death; but was diverted[x] from this by his brother, Agrarees, who persuaded him to rest satisfied with confining them in the fortress of Sari[y] in Mazenderan. At length, Zal, the son of Sam, who commanded the army of his father-in-law, Mehrab, the King of Cabul, made head against Afrasiab, and endeavoured to gain Agrarees to his cause, by an offer, if he could release the Persian nobles, to raise him to the throne of Persia. It is stated, that Zal justified this measure, on the ground of the two sons[z] of Nouzer being, from weakness of character, totally unfit to govern the empire: but it is more probable that he saw no hopes of relieving his country, except in creating dissensions among its enemies. The Tartar prince agreed to the proposal; and desired Zal to send a force against him of sufficient strength to afford him

[x] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[y] The present capital of Mazenderan. This town was visited by Jonas Hanway in A.D. 1743; there were then standing four ancient temples, built in the shape of rotundas, about thirty feet in diameter, and near a hundred and twenty feet high.

[z] Their names were Toos and Goostahem.

a fair pretext for retreating to defend Rhe[a], the seat of his government. It was at the same time settled, that a body of men should march to Sari. This plan was executed; the small detachment which went to that city succeeded in releasing the Persian nobles. The treachery of Agrarees was discovered, and his punishment was signal. His justly incensed brother slew him with his sabre, before the assembled chiefs of Turan[b].

Zal, when he heard of this event, raised a person of the name of Zoo[c] or Zoowah to the throne. Zoo, according to some, was descended from Selm: others trace him to Meenucheher. He died after conquering Fars, and was succeeded by his son, Kershasp[d]. That prince, who was soon set aside as incompetent by Zal, is considered by Persian authors as the last of the Paishdadian dynasty: who, according to their computation, governed Persia two thousand four hundred and fifty years. The names of twelve kings only of this race have been preserved; and concerning them, we have hardly one fact, except the revolt of Kâwâh[e], which can be deemed historical.

[a] The Rhages of the ancients.

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] The Artiâ of Greek writers.

[d] The Arbiânes of Ctesias, and Cardicias of Moses of Chorene.

[e] The conversion of this blacksmith's apron into the imperial standard has been related. Its falling into the hands of the Caliph Omar, is a fact of undoubted authority, and confirms the truth of this event in the remote history of Persia.

CHAPTER III.

THE KAIANIAN DYNASTY OF KINGS.

KAI KOBAD, the founder of the Kaianian dynasty, was a lineal descendant from Meenucheher; according to some accounts, he was his great-grandson. He had retired to the mountain Elburz: but his retreat was known; and [f] when Zal found Kershasp unequal to the duties of sovereignty, he sent his son, Roostum, to invite Kai Kobad to mount the throne. The young warrior met the prince at the foot of Elburz. Kai Kobad, after hearing his errand, told him he had descended the mountain in consequence of having dreamt that the crown of Persia was placed upon his head by two white hawks [g]. The royal youth and Roostum feasted together; and, according to the usage of those days, the goblet was freely circulated. They proceeded to the camp of Zal, who, however, did not proclaim Kai Kobad [h] till he had assembled the chiefs of the empire, and obtained their assent. When the ceremony of crowning him was over, the new king, as was to be expected, withdrew to his palace, and committed the administration into the hands of Zal, while his son, Roostum, was appointed to lead the Persians against the dreaded Afrasiab, who had again passed the Oxus and invaded Persia. The first field of Roostum is a theme of glory with his countrymen. The youth had received from his father the club of his ancestor Sam. This tremendous weapon, which had long been the terror of the enemies of his country, was soon perceived by

[f] Ferdosi.

[g] This allusion is not explained. The hawks are conjectured by some Persian writers, to have been Zal and Roostum.

[h] It is probable that the Kai Kobad of the Persians is the Dejoces of the Greeks: but this will be hereafter discussed.



the Tartars[i]; and in answer to Afrasiab's demand, who that boy was that made such havock in his ranks, one of them exclaimed, "Seest thou not that he wields the club of the mighty Sam? that he is a youth, the object of whose soul is renown[k]?" Afrasiab, despising his years, hastened to attack him. Roostum, perceiving his intention, and that he was almost unarmed, threw aside his club, and rushed to the combat. After a short but violent contest[l], the Persian hero seized the prince, and bore him off his saddle; but the girdle, by which he held him, broke: Afrasiab fell to the ground, and his soldiers crowded to his defence in such numbers, that it became impossible for Roostum to recover his prisoner. But the rich crown and girdle of the Tartar prince remained in the possession of the victor, whose triumph was completed by the entire defeat of the enemy; according to Persian authors[m], Roostum slew in this engagement no less than eleven hundred and sixty men, with his own hand. Afrasiab, immediately after, retreated across the Oxus, and advised his father to make peace with a nation which he could no longer hope to subdue. A negotiation was opened, and, notwithstanding the decided opposition of Roostum, a peace was concluded, by which it was agreed, that the Oxus should remain, as heretofore, the boundary between the two kingdoms.

Kai Kobad lived some time after this peace: he is said[n] to have reigned one hundred and twenty years[o]. He was remarkable for his justice, which was so great, that men ceased to lament his virtuous ancestor, Feridoon.

[i] I have in this place and others used the European names Tartary and Tartars. These terms are unknown to the natives of the East. Tartary was formerly called Turan, and is now called Turkistan.

[k] Ferdosi.

[l] Ferdosi.

[m] Ferdosi.

[n] Shah-Namah.

[o] Ferdosi assigns an antediluvian age to Zal and Roostum, the heroes of this most fabulous part of his history.

He left four sons: Kai Kaoos, Arish, Room, and Armen. To the former he bequeathed his throne, and enjoined the others to obey him.

The commencement of the reign of Kai Kaoos[p] was most prosperous: but he was deluded by the representations which a favourite mistress made to him, of the delightful climate and fertility of Mazenderan, to resolve on its conquest. All his nobles were averse to this enterprise, as that country, the ancient Hyrcania, was inhabited by barbarians[q], whom they thought it impolitic to disturb or irritate. They entreated Zal to hasten to court, that he might prevail on the king to abandon his intention[r]; but the sage counsels of the old minister were vain. Kai Kaoos, however, had wisdom enough to entreat Zal to govern the kingdom in his absence: but that chief would only consent to give his aid to a noble named Meelad, who was appointed to the great charge, and directed not to act in any affair of importance without the concurrence of the Prince of Seistan.

The King of Mazenderan, the moment he heard of the approach of Kai Kaoos, solicited aid from the Deev-Suffeed, or White Demon[s]; and their combined troops defeated Kai Kaoos in a great battle; during which, that monarch and his army were struck with a sudden blindness[t], and all who were not slain, were made captives. Kai Kaoos was among the latter. He was confined in a strong fort, under the custody of a chief called Arjung, who used often taunt-

[p] The reign of Phraortes, the son of Dejoces, is omitted by Persian authors. It is probably included in the incredible period assigned to Kai Kobad. Kai Kaoos is Cyaxares; his son and successor, Astyages, is also omitted.

[q] They are termed deeves or demons by Persian writers.

[r] Ferdosi.

[s] This was probably some northern prince, whose colour and prowess had obtained him this name from his Persian enemies.

[t] This, as will be hereafter shown, was the eclipse, foretold by Thales of Miletus, which occurred during the battle between Cyaxares and the Lydians.

ingly to ask the royal prisoner, what he thought of the delightful climate he had been so anxious to enjoy[u].

The news of this great disaster filled Persia with dismay. Zal immediately sent Roostum to attempt the release of his king; which that hero effected through the double means of force and stratagem, though opposed, according to the fabulists of Persia[x], by all the efforts of valour and of enchantment. The death of the Deev-Suffeed, whom Roostum slew in single combat, terminated this enterprise. All the subjects of the deev, who survived him, submitted to Kai Kaoos, and presented to him a golden throne, on which the monarch seated himself, while his brave deliverer occupied a golden chair on his right hand. The king of Mazenderan continued, we are told, for some time to resist, but he was at last conquered, and fell by the lance of Roostum[y]: his country was made one of the subordinate governments of Persia, and granted in feudal tenure to Awlad, a deev or barbarian chief, who had first opposed, and afterwards aided, Roostum in his expedition.

Kai Kaoos returned to Isfahan, where he remained for a short time inactive: but in an attempt to compel the King of Hamaveran to give him his daughter in marriage, he fell into a snare: that monarch, having invited him to a feast, treacherously made him prisoner. This event threw Persia into confusion; Afrasiab immediately crossed the Oxus[z].

[u] Ferdosi.

[x] It is on this occasion that Ferdosi celebrates the stages of Roostum: in which, with the aid of his good horse, Ruksh, he prevails over a lion, a serpent, a sorceress, a giant, an army of deeves, and at last, over the Deev-Suffeed, or White Demon, himself.

[y] Roostum is said to have killed a number of elephants in this action. We must conclude, from both the ancient history and the sculpture of Persia, that this animal once abounded there. Mazenderan is, from climate and richness of vegetation, more favourable for their support than any other province in the empire.

[z] The inroads of the armies of Tartary, on the occurrence of any con-

Roostum saw, with regret, the situation of his country. His first effort was to release his sovereign; with that view, he marched as large a force as he could assemble against the King of Hamaveran[a], who was aided by the Kings of Egypt and Barbary. Both these princes fell prisoners into the hands of Roostum: who not only compelled the King of Hamaveran to release Kai Kaoos, but to grant his aid, and that of his auxiliaries, to expel Afrasiab from Persia. The Tartar prince was obliged to fly before their combined forces, conducted by the genius, and animated by the valour, of his former vanquisher. Kai Kaoos, we are told, was vain and proud[b]; he appears to have been in continual distress from the unfortunate result of schemes which his ambition led him to form, but which he wanted ability to execute. However he is obviously thrown into these situations by the poet, that he may introduce his heroes to relieve him. His life is consequently connected with a thousand fables, which, though unsuited to this place, form excellent materials for Ferdosi; and he has given, in his history of this period, the extraordinary and affecting tale of the combat between Roostum and his unknown son, Sohrab[c]: in which the Persian hero

fusion in Persia, have been constant, from the Mahomedan conquest till the present day: that is, for twelve centuries, of which we have authentic records. We may therefore deem the constant mention of these invasions at similar periods in the ancient history of Persia, as proving the general truth of the accounts.

[a] He is commonly termed the sovereign of Arabia: but the author of the "Ferhung Iehangheree" says he was King of Syria.

[b] Ferdosi.

[c] The poet commences this episode with a beautiful line, which truly characterizes the story he relates. It is, he says, "*Ekee dastan pur abe cheshum*,"—"A tale full of the waters of the eye."—The young Sohrab was the fruit of one of Roostum's early amours. He had left his mother, and sought fame under the banners of Afrasiab, whose armies he commanded, and soon obtained a renown beyond all contemporary heroes but his father. He had carried death and dismay into the ranks of the Persians, and had terrified their boldest warriors, before Roostum encountered him, which at last that hero resolved to do, under a feigned

is described as having gained a victory that embittered all his future life.

An event occurred during the reign of Kai Kaoos, which involved the Persians and Tartars in long and bloody wars. The Persian monarch[d] had married a niece[e] of Afrasiab, and had by her a son, called Siawush, whom he intrusted to Roostum to educate. This prince is said to have been alike remarkable for his mental endowments and his personal beauty. The fair Sudaba, the

name. They met three times. The first time they parted by mutual consent, though Sohrab had the advantage. The second the youth obtained a victory, but granted life to his unknown father. The third was fatal to Sohrab; writhing in the pangs of death, he warned his conqueror to shun the vengeance that is inspired by parental woes, and bade him dread the rage of the mighty Roostum, who must soon learn that he had slain his son Sohrab. These words were as death to the aged hero; when he recovered from a trance, he called in despair for proofs of what Sohrab had said. The afflicted and dying youth tore open his mail, and showed his father a seal which his mother had placed on his arm, when she discovered to him the secret of his birth, and bade him seek his father. The sight of his own signet rendered Roostum frantic: he cursed himself, attempted to put an end to his existence, and was only prevented by the efforts of his expiring son. After Sohrab's death, he burnt his tents and all his goods, and carried the corpse to Seistan, where it was interred. The army of Turan, agreeably to the last request of Sohrab, was permitted to cross the Oxus unmolested. It was commanded by Haman; and Zoarrah attended, on the part of Roostum, to see that his engagement was respected by the Persians. To reconcile us to the improbability of this tale, we are informed that Roostum could have no idea that his son was in existence. The mother of Sohrab had written to him that her child was a daughter, fearing to lose her infant if she revealed the truth; and Roostum, as before stated, fought under a feigned name, an usage not uncommon in the chivalrous combats of those days. In the account of this combat, Ferdosi has excelled himself. Nothing can be more beautiful than the picture of the distraction of the mother of Sohrab, who set fire to her palace, meaning to perish in the flames, but was prevented by her attendants. They could not, however, console her. She became quite frantic: her wild joy was to clothe herself in the bloody garment in which he had been slain; to kiss the forehead of his favourite horse; to draw his bow; wield his lance, his sword, and his mace: and, at last, to use the words of the poet, "she died, and her soul fled to that of her heroic son."

[d] Ferdosi.

[e] This princess had fled from her native country into Persia.

daughter of the King of Hamaveran, was not restrained by her marriage with his father from becoming enamoured of Siawush. She made every effort to seduce the young prince, but in vain. Resentful of the reproach which his virtue cast on her conduct, she accused him to Kai Kaoos of an attempt to violate her person. The old king, judging from the contrast in their appearance, the queen being dressed in a rich and voluptuous manner, and the prince in his usual plain and unadorned attire, deemed her the tempter, and refused to listen to her complaint. The irritated Sudaba soon afterwards made another endeavour to ruin the prince, who had disgraced the Haram, she said, by his intimacy with one of his father's ladies. From this second charge, Siawush cleared himself by passing through fire[f]. He not only came out unhurt from this dangerous ordeal, but had the generosity to intercede with his father in behalf of his guilty accuser.

Afrasiab, who had long threatened another invasion of Persia, was at this period alarmed for his own safety. A numerous Persian army had assembled; and his mind was shaken by a portentous dream, which some astrologers advised him to disregard, as such visions, they contended, were always to be interpreted by contraries[g]: but others, on whom he had more reliance, told him it foreboded evil, and earnestly entreated him not to prosecute the war. He attended to the advice of the latter, and made overtures for peace; they were acceded to by Roostum and Siawush, who commanded the army appointed to act against him. They, however, dictated very hard terms, compelling him to make great cessions[h], and to give one hundred hostages for the faithful performance of his engagement. Kai

[f] This custom, which still prevails among many barbarous nations, seems at one period to have been common in almost every country.

[g] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. The Persian Meerza, who assisted me in making the translation, assures me these astrologers were wrong. It is only, he says, the dreams of women that go by contraries.

[h] Among these were the cities of Bokhara, Samarcund, Chack, and Sanjam.

Kaoos, who had heard of Afrasiab's dream[i], and expected nothing less than his head, was displeased at the peace; and after ordering Siawush to send the hostages to court, gave the command of the army to Toos, whom he directed to recommence the war. Siawush was so indignant at this dishonourable conduct, that he sent back all the hostages to Afrasiab, and joined that prince himself, declaring he would never be a party to so faithless and shameless a proceeding. The monarch of Tartary received the young prince with joy, called him his son, and vowed eternal war against the tyrant, Kai Kaoos. Siawush, in a letter to his father, ascribed this act to his dread of the intrigues of his mother-in-law, Sudaba, whose active resentment, he said, rendered it impossible for him to preserve his honour and life at the Court of Persia. The self-exiled prince first married the daughter of Peeran-Wisa[k], the vizier of Afrasiab; and afterwards, Feringees, the beautiful daughter of the monarch himself. With her, he received the countries of Cheen[l] and Khoten as a dowry. To these he retired, to await patiently the death of his father. Siawush made Kung[m] his capital, and employed himself in improving his dominions: but his success only excited the envy of several nobles of Tartary, and particularly of Gurseevas, the brother of Afrasiab, who incessantly endeavoured to injure Siawush, by trying to persuade his brother that

[i] This is not extraordinary in a superstitious age, where dreams are often deemed certain indications of good or bad fortune.

[k] Peeran-Wisa may, with great propriety, be termed the Nestor of the Tartars. His reputation for wisdom and goodness is such, that over all Asia, those who are sage in council are, to this day, compared by flatterers to Peeran-Wisa.

[l] I imagine, wherever this term occurs, it means Chinese Tartary; it is here evidently used to signify a province.

[m] The description which Ferdosi gives of the climate of this city is very happy. "Na gurmish gurm, ou na surmaesh serd."—"Its warmth was not heat, its coolness was not cold."

the Persian prince aimed at independence. Afrasiab[n] was alive to the feelings of honour and hospitality, and it was long before he could be induced to lift his hand against a guest who had sought his protection. He even desired, after he believed him guilty, to allow him to depart: but Gurseevas represented the impolicy of such clemency; and, indeed, its cruelty to the royal family of Tartary, which he urged, would be exposed to the future attacks of a powerful monarch, not only thoroughly acquainted with every part of their dominions, but popular with their subjects. These arguments at last prevailed; and the brave and generous Siawush was treacherously murdered by Afrasiab. Feringees, who was pregnant at this period, was doomed to death by her father, in order to avert that vengeance which he had such just cause to dread from her offspring: but the nobles of the court combined to prevent the execution of this horrid purpose. She was delivered over to Peran-Wisa, who however was directed to destroy her child the moment it was born. But the heart of the minister revolted at such an act; and when Feringees was delivered of a son, Peran-Wisa made it over to a shepherd, informing Afrasiab that he had directed it to be exposed in a desert. He named the child Kai Khoosroo[o], and took care that it should have, in a secret manner, an education suited to its high birth and future destiny. Rumours of his grandson being alive reached the ear of Afrasiab, who questioned Peran-Wisa on the subject. The minister said he had heard that a shepherd had found the child, and brought it up, but that it had proved an idiot. The king desired to see it, and Kai Khoosroo made his appearance, after being instructed by Peran-Wisa as to his behaviour. "Conduct yourself," said he to the royal boy, "before Afrasiab as a stranger, and let folly only escape from your

[n] Ferdosi.

[o] The grounds on which we may conclude the Kai Khoosroo of Persian writers to be the Cyrus of the Greeks, will be stated hereafter.

lips[p]." The young prince acted his part to admiration. To every question he returned an answer so nonsensical and ridiculous, that the court was convulsed with laughter. Afrasiab even ceased to have alarms. "That poor foolish child," said he, "and its mother, may hereafter live in peace at the Mausoleum of Siawush[q]."

The murder of Siawush excited the most lively indignation in Persia. Kai Kaoos collected an army to revenge the blood of his son, and sent to solicit Roostum to take the command of his troops. The only condition on which that chief would accede to this proposal, was, the death of Sudaba, to whose wicked passion he ascribed all the misfortunes of Siawush. With this demand Kai Kaoos was compelled, though reluctantly, to comply[r]; and Roostum marched towards the enemy. Afrasiab sent his general, Soorkhe, with thirty thousand men, to oppose him. This force was defeated by the advanced guard of the Persian army, under Feramurz, the son of Roostum. The general of the army of Tartary was slain, and his head[s] sent to Kai Kaoos. Afrasiab, on hearing of this took the field in person, and in the first battle a celebrated combat took place between Roostum and a hero called Peelsoom, who had overthrown two Persian chiefs[t]. This champion, to whom Afrasiab had promised half his dominions if victorious, was discomfited with disgrace, and thrown amid his own ranks from the point of Roostum's spear, which however had only pierced his girdle, as that hero disdained the easy conquest of his life. After this combat, it was in vain that Afrasiab called upon his nobles to enter the lists against Roostum. Maddened by their refusal, he determined on a trial of his own prowess, but was unhorsed, and his life was only preserved by the most desperate efforts of his troops. A general engagement now took

[p] Ferdosi.

[q] Ferdosi.

[r] Ferdosi.

[s] This inhuman mode of treating the slain prevails to this day in Persia.

[t] Geeve and Feramurz.

place, in which the Persians were victorious, and pursued their enemies nine or ten miles from the field of battle. Afrasiab in his retreat sent for Kai Khoosroo, and, we are told, desired to slay him: he was however prevented by the suggestions of Peeran-Wisa, who represented that such an act would tarnish all the glory he had acquired, and prevailed upon him to adopt the more moderate course of sending the royal youth beyond the sea of China[a], a country whence he could never expect to return. Afrasiab was compelled to fly from his own dominions, over which Roostum exercised sovereign sway for seven years. After that period, he committed the charge to his son, Feramurz, and returned to the court of Kai Kaoos.

Every effort was made to discover Kai Khoosroo; and Geeve[x], one of the most renowned Persian warriors, travelled over all China, defeated numerous armies, and performed a thousand wonders before he completed this great adventure. When the young prince was at last restored to his aged grandfather, the latter, overcome with joy, descended from his throne, placed Kai Khoosroo upon it, and directed all to pay him their homage. He was obeyed by every one except Toos, who, turning to Feriburz, the son of Kai Kaoos, said, he would never bow the head to any but him after the reign of his father was over. "If the throne is resigned," said he, "let it be to a son, not to a grandson, whose blood, we must remember, is contaminated by having been mixed with that of Afrasiab." This speech produced a warm altercation between Toos and Gudurz[y], only terminated by Kai Kaoos declaring he had resolved to send his son and grandson against the deeves, or magicians, and that he should make him his heir, who, by his exploits, showed himself worthiest of the throne. The

[a] This would imply that Turan or Scythia to its farthest bounds, was under Afrasiab; but it is quite impossible to say to what country the young Khoosroo was sent.

[x] Ferdosi.

[y] The father of Geeve, and grandson to Káwáh, the blacksmith.

result[a] was favourable to Kai Khoosroo, who was crowned on returning victorious from an enterprise in which Feriburz had failed.

Though Kai Khoosroo was now king of Persia, he paid as much attention to his grandfather as if that monarch had not resigned his power. His conduct in this, as in every other instance, gladdened the hearts of his subjects. Zal and Roostum, who had retired to Seistan, hastened to pay their respects and to offer presents[a] to the young king, who received them with rapture, and immediately assembled an army to attack Afrasiab, and revenge the murder of his father. Although the king went in person to this war, the chief command was given to Roostum, and the advance was intrusted to Toos: the latter was particularly instructed to respect the territories of Ferood, the brother of Kai Khoosroo[b], who had settled in Khorassan[c]. As Toos passed near this country, Ferood, conceiving his intentions hostile, made preparations to oppose him. This induced the Persian chief to send his son and nephew to desire Ferood to wait upon him; an insulting message, which enraged the prince

[a] Feriburz found the deeves in a castle, which appearing suspended in the air, he could not attack them; but an arrow, on which the name of the Almighty was written, from the bow of Kai Khoosroo destroyed this charm, and brought the deeves within reach of his sword.—FERDOSI.

[a] The custom of approaching superiors with presents has prevailed in Asia from the most ancient ages. It is indeed the fee which a barbarous despotism exacts from petty rulers and governors under their authority; and in feudal governments these presents form a principal part on the revenue of the paramount prince.

[b] The son of Siawush by the daughter of Peeran-Wisa.

[c] His residence was Killaat Jy Jerme, a place in Khorassan, now known by its name of Killaat-e-Naderee. Nadir Shah, who was born at the small village of Abuver in its vicinity, desired to make Killaat the strong hold, if not the capital, of his dominions. The fort of Killaat is situated about thirty miles N.E. of Mushed. It is upon a very high hill, only accessible by two narrow paths. An ascent of six or seven miles terminates in a plain about twelve miles in circumference, watered by several fine streams, and covered with verdure and cultivation. A second ascent, by a route of ten or eleven miles, leads to another plain of greater elevation, but of equal richness. Since the death of Nadir this place has been neglected.

so much, as to make him slay the messengers. Toos[d], on hearing of this act, immediately marched against Ferood, who fell in a vain attempt to defend his castle. The Persian army advanced, but were surprised by a body of Tartars under Peeran-Wisa, and after losing great numbers, were obliged to save themselves by an ignominious flight: their chief, in consequence of his disobedience of orders and subsequent defeat, suffered a temporary disgrace and confinement. The corps in advance, which had been placed under Feriburz, was again defeated by Peeran-Wisa; and that able leader gained a third victory, after a most sanguinary battle, over the Persians under Gudurz, who, we are told, lost seventy of his sons and grandsons in this hard-fought action[e]. The joy of Afrasiab at these successes knew no bounds: he resolved on attacking the main body of the Persians, commanded by Kai Khoosroo and Roostum, who on their part adopted all means to repair their misfortunes. Toos was released from his confinement, and sent at the head of a fresh army to meet Peeran-Wisa; he had an action with him, which lasted for seven days, but terminated unfavourably. He was forced to retreat to the mountains of Hamavai, where his force was surrounded and in great danger, until relieved by Roostum, who, after a number of single combats, in all of which he was successful, obtained a great victory, and made prisoner the Emperor of China[f], one of Afrasiab's chief allies. The Chinese army[g] on this dispersed, and Roostum immediately marched in pursuit of Afrasiab, who fled to his capital: the conquest of this was only retarded for a short time by the arrival of Pouladwund, the chief of Khoten, who fought with great valour, and discomfited several of the most renowned among

[d] Ferdosi.

[e] Ferdosi states that nine hundred of the most distinguished heroes of Turan fell in this action; but this is a poetical manner of saying that nine hundred of the enemy were slain.

[f] This monarch is represented as riding on a white elephant.

[g] Ferdosi.

the Persians, but was at last overthrown by Roostum. Afrasiab, destitute of all resource and support, fled from his territories, which were divided by Roostum among the leaders of the Persian army. The hero himself returned to the court of Kai Khoosroo.

Afrasiab appears soon to have recovered his kingdom; and the next enterprise of importance in which Roostum engaged, was the release of Beejun, the son of Geeve [h],

[h] The events that led to his confinement are related in the Shah Namah nearly as follows:—

One day some peasants appeared before Khoosroo, and complained that wild hogs were laying waste their fields, and that they should all be ruined. Beejun volunteered to go and extirpate them. On account of his extreme youth, Goorgin, a celebrated pehlwan, or hero, was sent to accompany him.

After they had hunted for some time, they set fire to the low wood of the forest: they then retired to a pleasant spot, where they drank and amused themselves for several days. But Goorgin having killed few hogs, and consequently acquired but a small number of tusks, resolved to lay some trap for Beejun, to get him out of the way, that he might not return in disgrace to the presence of Khoosroo; and his envy was increased by Beejun's telling him that he meant to have the boars' tusks set in gold, and suspended as trophies round the neck of his charger.

Goorgin now flattered Beejun by assuring him, that he was the most valiant of heroes, and then described a delightful valley at some distance, where Mooneja, the beautiful daughter of Afrasiab, held her court. He proposed that they should proceed to the spot and endeavour to seize her. The youth was tempted, and the adventure ended in his being made prisoner. The description by Goorgin of this terrestrial paradise is a good example of the style of Persian poetry:—

"Seest thou yonder valley of variegated hues? what a scene to fill the heart of a valiant man with joy! Behold these sweet groves, beautiful gardens, and flowing streams: is it not a spot for the abode of heroes? The ground resembles velvet, and the air breathes perfume. You would say the rose had imparted its sweets to the water of that rivulet. The stalk of the lily bends under the weight of the flower, and the whole grove is charmed with the fragrance of the rose-bush. See how that graceful pheasant moves among the flowers, while the dove and the nightingale warble from the branches of the cypress. From this moment till time is no more, may the borders of these banks resemble the bowers of Paradise! Cast your eyes on every plain and hill, and you will see cheerful circles of sweet damsels, more blooming than the lovely fairies. Behold Mooneja, daughter of Afrasiab, who, like the sun, irradiates all the garden. There too is her

who, in consequence of a love affair with Mooneeja, the daughter of Afrasiab, had been made captive, and, as a punishment for his temerity, suspended by the heels in a pit, where his life was only preserved by the secret attentions of his mistress. The success of this enterprise would appear to have depended more on stratagem than force; the Persian hero went to the capital of Afrasiab in the disguise of a merchant. Beejun was freed from his melancholy prison; and the troops of Afrasiab sent in pursuit of the Persians who had performed this service, were defeated. The young Beejun[i] was a great favourite of Kai Khoosroo; and that monarch, overjoyed at the result[k] of this expedition, when he met Roostum, threw himself on the ground, and returned thanks to the Creator of the world for the success of that hero, upon whose head he placed a regal crown, as a just reward for his great exploits.

We find Roostum next engaged in a series of conflicts with his unknown grandson, Boorzoo, a leader in the army of Afrasiab, the son of the unhappy Sohrab, who had fallen by the sword of his father. The fate of Boorzoo might have been similar, had not an explanation taken place, which revealed his birth, and led to the establishment of friendship between him and his renowned grandfather. The despair of the Prince of Tartary at an event which rendered his

sister Sitara seated like a queen, attended by handmaids and resplendent with glory. This lovely fair one is the ornament of the grove: the rose and the jessamine yield to her beauty. Behold also these Turkish maids, who have their charms veiled: every one equals the cypress in form, and has ringlets like musk. Their cheeks are full of roses, their eyes of sleep; their lips are vermilioned with the juice of the grape, and sweetened with the fragrant water of the rose. If we should only make one day's journey forwards, we shall reach this beautiful valley; and seizing some of these fair angels, we would carry the glorious prize to the royal Khoosroo."

[i] Kai Khoosroo, we are told, was in great distress when this hero first disappeared; and not being able to discover him by any other means, had recourse to the Jam-e-Jehan-numai, or the mirror showing the universe, which had descended from Jemsheed: in it he saw Beejun suspended in a pit at the capital of Afrasiab.

[k] Ferdosi.

ablest leader his enemy, induced him to adopt an unworthy stratagem for deluding Roostum and the chief heroes of Persia into his power. He employed the wiles and beauty of a dancing girl; but the artifice had only a partial success, and ended in bringing on a general action, in which the Persians were again victorious. Peeran-Wisa now advised Afrasiab to retreat; but, irritated by his misfortunes, he refused to attend to the counsel of his wise minister, and challenged Kai Khoosroo to single combat. The Persian king was only withheld from accepting this challenge by the united prayers and entreaties of his warriors, who represented the madness of giving away the great advantages his arms had obtained, by engaging personally with a prince whom misfortune had rendered desperate. During the conferences that took place, Boorzoo advanced to meet Afrasiab; and the latter, mad with rage at the sight of an opponent whom he deemed a deserter, exclaimed—"Vile upstart! knowest thou thy father, that thou presumest to enter the lists with a monarch who gave thee bread? Let Kai Khoosroo advance. Thy punishment shall be the wrath of God, which always falls on the ungrateful." The young warrior, enraged at these reproaches, rushed to the conflict. The combat was however prevented by the advance of both armies, and by a general action, only terminated by the approach of night. The troops of Afrasiab retired, but, we may conclude, were not defeated, as they were not pursued.

This battle was fought in Seistan, and Kai Khoosroo complied with the entreaty of Roostum, that he would honour his humble dwelling with his presence. He was sumptuously entertained for a week by his general; who now requested that, in consideration of his great age[1], he might pass the remainder of his days in retirement; while his son

[1] Roostum is made to say that he is four hundred years old: but the poet seems reluctant to allow his great hero to quit the scene even at this age; and he is soon brought forward again.

Feramurz and his grandson Boorzoo should serve in his place. The monarch consented, and gave the governments of Ghour and Heri[m] to Boorzoo, while he sent Feramurz on an expedition into Hindostan, with orders, after subduing that country, to co-operate with a force under Gudurz, appointed to invade Tartary. Gudurz was opposed in this expedition by Peeran-Wisa: after some operations of little consequence, the Tartar general sent the following message to the Persian leader[n]: "Can the life of Siawush, for whom so much blood has already been shed, be restored by the further destruction of armies? Let us close this sanguinary contest by combats between heroes, and spare the further effusion of the blood of the soldiers." His proposal was accepted; and ten heroes, including the two generals, were chosen from each army[o]. All these combats terminated, according to Persian historians[p], favourably to their champions. That between Gudurz and Peeran-Wisa was dreadful, as was to be expected from the skill and valour of the combatants. Peeran-Wisa's horse was at last killed, and the fall broke his right arm. Unable to continue the conflict, he endeavoured to escape to some neighbouring hills; but Gudurz pursued, and, as he approached, called to his opponent to yield, and that his life should be spared.

[m] The ancient name of Herat.

[n] Ferdosi.

[o] Their names were as follow:—

Persians.	*Tartars.*
Gudurz.	Peeran-Wisa.
Geeve.	Goorooz, the murderer of Siawush.
Feriburz, uncle to Kai Khoosroo.	Gulbaud, the brother of Peeran-Wisa.
Roham, son of Gudurz.	Burmaun.
Goorgeen.	Andereman.
Goorazeh.	Siamuch.
Beejun, son of Geeve.	Choubeen, son of Peeran.
Zunkay-Shahweran.	Aukhast.
Gehroom.	Bawta.
Feroohul.	Zenkula.
Hujeer, son of Gudurz.	Semerhun.

[p] Ferdosi.

"I cannot purchase a few hours of ignoble existence," said the old man, "at the expense of my honour." With these words he turned and darted his lance with his left arm; it inflicted a slight wound on Gudurz, who immediately threw his javelin, and pierced the heart of Peeran-Wisa. The aged hero fell lifeless to the ground. Gudurz caught the blood in his hand as it gushed from the wound, and with streaming and uplifted eyes drank it off to the memory of Siawush and of his own children[q], who had fallen in this long and dreadful war. He[r] covered his face with the blood of Peeran-Wisa, and raised his sword to sever the head from the body; but a consideration for the virtue and dignity of the vanquished arrested the blow. When he returned, he was hailed with shouts of joy, and found all the other combatants had been victorious, each having slain his adversary, and dragged his body, at the tail of his horse, into the camp. The son of Gudurz was sent to bring the corpse of Peeran-Wisa: it was laid before Kai Khoosroo, who forgot the murder of his father, Siawush, in mourning over the remains of the preserver and protector of his youth He ordered[s] the body to be embalmed and placed in a mausoleum, with the throne[t], the mace, the cap, and all the insignia of honour usual at the obsequies of the greatest heroes.

Kai Khoosroo pursued the advantage he had obtained; and having crossed the Oxus, took possession of Samarcand and Bokharah. Afrasiab made an ineffectual effort to ob-

[q] He had lost, as has been stated, seventy sons and grandsons in one action. This is not an overcharged picture of the effects of the feelings cherished by races of men, who, from being in a country without laws, are in the habit of seeking blood for blood. The scene here described would not be unlikely to occur in our own times in a contest between two tribes in Persia who have a blood-feud.

[r] Ferdosi.

[s] Ferdosi.

[t] In the original of Ferdosi, he is said to have been buried with the tucht, goorz, kullah, &c. I have literally translated these terms, as they relate to an ancient usage in funeral rites.

tain peace, sending his son, Sheydah, as ambassador. This impatient youth, who appears to have been ill-suited to his office, delivered his father's message in the most arrogant style, and finished by challenging the Persian monarch to meet him in single combat. His manner and insolence so provoked Kai Khoosroo, that it was impossible to prevent his accepting the challenge. They fought, and Sheydah fell. The intelligence of his death no sooner reached Afrasiab, than he precipitated another engagement, in which his troops fought with all the bravery rage and despair could inspire; but they were defeated, and Afrasiab, after some further resistance[u], was taken in the mountains and brought to Kai Khoosroo. That monarch commanded that he should suffer the same death to which he had doomed the innocent Siawush, to revenge whose blood, this long and sanguinary war had been undertaken.

Soon after these events, Kai Khoosroo resolved to devote the remainder of his life to religious retirement: he delivered over Cabul, Zabulistan, and Neemroz[x], to Roomstum, as hereditary possessions: and resigned his throne to Lohrasp, the son-in-law of Kai Kaoos, and his own son of adoption and of affection. Khorassan was delivered over to Toos: to whom, and to Feriburz, the son of Kai Kaoos, he gave the strictest charge to preserve their allegiance to Lohrasp. After these arrangements, he went, accompanied by some nobles[y], to a spring[z], which had been

[u] His capital of Behesht Gung stood a siege, which is described by Ferdosi.

[x] Neemruz is part of the modern Seistan. The Persians have a tradition, that this country was formerly covered with a lake, which was drained by some genii in half a day, whence the name of Neemruz or half-day: but as Neemroz means also mid-day, it is in all probability metaphorically used in Persian, as in French, German, and several other languages, to designate the south; and this province lies directly south of Bulkh, the ancient capital of Persia.

[y] Toos, Geeve, and Goostahem, were the nobles who accompanied him.

[z] This retirement to a teerut or spring argues the belief of a religion not unlike that of the Hindoos, among whom springs are peculiarly sacred, and are generally fixed on by those who resolve on religious retirement.

fixed upon as the place of his repose. Here, according to the author[a] I have hitherto followed, he disappeared, and all those who went with him were destroyed on their return by a violent tempest.

Kai Khoosroo lived ninety years, and reigned sixty. He was a prince of the highest qualities, and his name is still cherished by his countrymen. Some authors[b] assert that he is not dead, but concealed[c]; and tradition elevates him to the rank of a prophet.

Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khoosroo, met at first with some opposition; but his virtues, the excellence of his civil institutions, and the discipline he introduced into the army, soon established his authority.

This prince obliged both the rulers of Tartary and of China[d] to do him homage. Raham Gudurz, more commonly known by his title of Bucht-ul-Nasser[e], the governor of Irak, was commanded to extend the empire to the west: and we are told by a Mahomedan author[f], that an army was detached by him against Jerusalem, then ruled by a descendant of David; who submitted on its advance, and gave up one of the principal men among the Children of Israel as a hostage for the faithful performance of his engagement, to pay tribute to his conqueror. The Persian army, however, had only marched a short distance on its return, when its commander learnt that the Jews had risen, and put their ruler to death, as the author of a com-

[a] Ferdosi.

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] Ghaib is the Persian phrase, and is applied to such of their prophets as they believe are not dead, but will re-appear.

[d] This term describes what we call Chinese Tartary.

[e] The meaning of this title is, the "Fortune of Victory."

[f] Tarikh Tubree.—Abou Jaaffer, an inhabitant of Tabreez, wrote this History of the World in Arabic. The author was born in 224 of the Hejerah. In 310 of the Hejerah this work was translated into Persian, by Abou Aly Mahomed Aldagamee. It is one of the best and most authentic oriental histories. The Persian work is more valuable than the Arabic, many additions and amendments having been made by the able translator.

pact which they deemed disgraceful. He sent an account of what he had heard to Bucht-ul-Nasser, who immediately marched in person to Jerusalem, took, and plundered it; carrying away into bondage such of the inhabitants as were not put to the sword.

It has been asserted[g], that Bucht-ul-Nasser is the Nebuchadnezzar of Jewish writers; and there is, no doubt, a near agreement between the relation of the Mahomedan author I have followed and the Scriptures: but many facts must be reconciled before we can adopt such a conclusion. This subject will be considered hereafter.

The preference which Lohrasp showed for the children of Kai Kaoos offended his own son Gushtasp; on the failure of a plot against his father's power, into which he had entered, he fled into the regions of the West[h], where he lived for some time in disguise. The Persians[i] are too much addicted to embellishment, to permit one of their royal race to wander without adventures; and, according to popular accounts, the elegant figure of Gushtasp caused the Emperor of the West's daughter, the beautiful Kattyoon[k], to neglect all the noble youth of her own country, who had been commanded to display their figures under her balcony in order that she might select a husband, and to throw the orange, which marked her election, at the graceful stranger. The emperor was enraged at her mean choice; and, though forced to comply with what had been an established usage of the empire, abolished it from that instant, and expelled his daughter to the low dwelling of her husband. The same fable states[l], that the emperor

[g] Richardson.

[h] The Persian word is Room, a term adopted since the establishment of the eastern empire of the Romans. It may always be considered as a general and indefinite name by which Persian authors describe the provinces west of the Euphrates, to the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean.

[i] Ferdosi.

[k] Probably a corruption of Khatoon, which signifies lady.

[l] Ferdosi.

proclaimed, the hands of his two remaining daughters should be given to whoever slew a lion and a dragon, at that period the terror of the kingdom. Two princes, who loved the princesses, but dreaded the conflict with such monsters, applied to Gushtasp, whose fame for courage had spread around, and that hero overcame both the lion and the dragon; while the lovers, assuming the merit of these actions, married their mistresses. The emperor soon afterwards discovered the truth[m], and showered favours upon Gushtasp, whom he appointed the leader of his forces. The fame of the young prince spread to Persia: Lohrasp, alarmed at the approach of a foreign army, headed by the heir to the throne, gave the command of his troops to his second son, Zurreer; to whom he also intrusted his crown, and directed him to place it upon the head of his brother whenever they met. Gushtasp, when the armies approached, did not hesitate to visit the camp of his countrymen: he was instantly hailed their king, and informed by Zurreer of the commands of his father. He wrote to the emperor, whom he served, to entreat his presence, and assured him that every thing should be settled to his wish. The monarch came, and found his son-in-law seated on a throne, the acknowledged sovereign of Persia. After this interview, at which peace between the two nations was concluded, Gushtasp marched with his princess to Persia, and became a faithful servant to his father, who declared him his successor, and, in a short time, gave over to him the charge of the empire, choosing to end his own days in pious retirement. It is stated by Persian authors, that Lohrasp sat upon the throne one hundred and twenty years[n].

The reign of his son and successor, Gushtasp[o], owes

[m] Ferdosi.

[n] The reign of this prince probably includes those of Cambyses and Smerdis Magus.

[o] The Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks. This sovereign, according to Greek writers, was the first who coined gold in Persia: the coins which he

much of its celebrity to its being the period when the Persians were converted to the worship of fire. Zoroaster, who effected this change in the religion of his country, is called a prophet or an impostor, as the events of his life happen to be drawn from Pehlivi or Mahomedan authors. The former pretend he was every thing that was holy and enlightened: while the latter assert[p], he was only a good astrologer, himself deceived by the Devil into becoming the teacher of a new and impious doctrine. All agree that he lived under Gushtasp, and led him either by his arts or his miracles[q], to become a zealous and powerful propagator of his faith. The royal bigot not only built temples of fire in every part of his kingdom, but compelled his subjects to worship in them. It is stated in one work[r], that Isfundear, the son of Gushtasp, was the first convert made by Zoroaster; and that his father was persuaded, by the eloquence of the prince to follow his example. This doctrine, first taught in Aderbijan[s], spread rapidly over the whole empire. The king ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, that the precepts of his new faith might be written on them. These parchments were deposited in a vault[t], hewn out of the rock at Persepolis. Holy men were appointed to guard them; and it was commanded that the profane should be kept at a distance from the sacred records.

The first result from this change of religion, was a

struck were called after his name, Darics, as the gold coins of Philip, the father of Alexander, were called Philips.

[p] Ferdosi says, the Devil spoke to Zoroaster from the midst of a flame.

[q] It is related, that Gushtasp for a time denied the truth of Zoroaster's mission, and once confined the prophet's person for seven years.

[r] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[s] The Pehlivi name of this province is Azerbijan, or the House of Fire; probably given to it from the worship of fire originating in the province of which Zoroaster was a native: he was born at the town of Oormia.

[t] Some vaults, or dukhmahs, as they are termed in Pehlivi, which answer this description, are still to be seen at the ruins of Persepolis.

war with Arjasp, King of Tartary[u]; who wrote to Gushtasp[x], to warn him against the error into which he had fallen, and to desire he would return to the faith of his ancestors, threatening him with an attack if he slighted his advice. The Persian King was indignant at this letter, and a war immediately commenced. In the first action, fought in the Persian territories, the brother[y] of Gushtasp was killed by the son[z] of Arjasp; but that young prince did not long enjoy his triumph: he fell under the sword of Isfundear[a], the son of the Persian monarch. The battle terminated in the complete defeat of Arjasp, who fled into his own territories.

A short time after this action, Isfundear was forced into rebellion by the intrigues of his father's court. He appears soon to have submitted, and was imprisoned: but the

[u] He is oftener called King of China; but the fact is, the monarch with whom the Persians warred appears to have ruled over the countries we now call Chinese Tartary, and probably a considerable part of China.

[x] Translations of this letter, and of the answer sent to it, as given by Ferdosi, may be seen by the English reader in the volume of the Asiatic Miscellany, published at Calcutta in 1786.

The following extract from the Shah-Namah, will show the feelings excited at the Court of Tartary, by this change in the national religion:—

"Know ye, (said Arjasp to his assembled chiefs,) that glory, wisdom, and the pure religion, have fled from Persia. A certain sorcerer, styling himself a prophet, hath appeared in that region and introduced a new form of worship among the people; to whom he hath said—'I am come from above: I am come from the God of the world: I have seen the Lord in Heaven: and, lo! here are the Zund and the Osta, as written by himself. I also saw Ahriman in the midst of Hell, but was unable to compass the circle that enclosed him. And, behold! I am deputed by the Almighty to preach the true faith to the king of the earth.'—And now all the most renowned warriors of Persia, with the son of Lohrasp at their head, have fallen into his snares: the brother, too, of Gushtasp, that valiant cavalier and champion of Persia, Zurreer—nay, all have embraced his doctrines: all have wantonly sacrificed their eternal happiness to the old magician, whose pernicious precepts threaten to pervade the whole world. He rules already over Persia as a prophet."—Ferdosi.

[y] Zurreer.

[z] Bederufsh.

[a] Some say he was not his son, but only a great hero of royal blood.

moment the news of his confinement reached Tartary, the monarch of that country recommenced hostilities, invaded Persia, defeated Gushtasp, and made his daughter prisoner [b]. After this success, he returned to Tartary, carrying with him his royal captive and immense spoils. Gushtasp in despair not only gave Isfundear his liberty, but promised to resign his crown to him, if he succeeded in releasing his sister. The prince agreed to the terms, collected an army, with which he defeated Arjasp, and prepared to pursue him to his capital of Roueendeh [c]. It appears that there were three routes to this city from Bulkh: one four months' journey, another two months', and the third not more than six or seven days' march; but this last [d], was over a desert so wild, so barren, and so infested by ferocious animals and poisonous serpents, that no attempt had ever been made to traverse it. This, however, was the route which Isfundear determined to take, accompanied only by sixty chosen men. He sent a chief called Pooshtung [e] with the army and heavy baggage by the road which was two months' march. This officer was directed to watch, as he approached the capital of the enemy, for a signal of fire, and commanded, the moment he saw it, to lead his men to the assault.

Isfundear and his sixty attendants were habited as merchants, and carried with them abundance of valuable commodities. They passed the desert in safety, and entered Roueendeh without exciting the least suspicion. A report was carefully circulated, that a great and wealthy merchant attended by a number of friends had escaped from the tyranny of Gushtasp. This, as was intended, soon reached the ears of Arjasp, who sent for Isfundear, that he might view his merchandise. The disguised prince attended,

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] Roueendeh means the Brazen City; a name probably given to it from its strength.

[d] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[e] His brother, or half-brother.

made an offering of some rich jewels, and was assured of favour and protection. No suspicion whatever appears to have been entertained; and on the night of the day when the Persian army appeared before the city, Isfundear made the appointed signal. The troops from without instantly assaulted the town, while the prince and his companions made an attack upon the palace. The complete surprise and consequent confusion of his enemies, gave him an easy victory. When he approached the king, he exclaimed, "You miscreant Turk[f]! I am Isfundear, Prince of Persia!" Arjasp, terrified at the name, fled, but was soon overtaken and slain: all his brothers met the same fate. The sister of Isfundear was released, and restored to her father, to whom his victorious son also sent the throne of Arjasp, and an immense booty. The government of Turan was bestowed on a pious man, the descendant of Agrarees, whose dynasty, the author[g] here followed adds, continued to rule there till the time of Alexander.

There are various accounts of the achievements of Isfundear. According to Ferdosi, after the first war with Arjasp had been brought to a favourable conclusion by his valour, Isfundear was appointed Viceroy of Bulkh, where he not only had a court, but was vested with a power over the whole empire. But this only rendered his enemies more active. They persuaded Gushtasp that his son was forming designs against his life; and the prince was suddenly summoned to Persepolis, where he no sooner arrived, than he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fort in Aderbijan. This act appears not only to have revived those religious and civil disputes with which Persia was at this period agitated, but to have encouraged the monarch of Tartary again to invade that empire. His success was great: Khorassan was plundered; Bulkh was taken;

[f] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. The term "Turk" is used by the author of that work; but this event was long before the period when the Turks came into that part of Tartary.

[g] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

the old king, Lohrasp, was included in the general massacre of the priests and followers of Zoroaster[h]. The apron of Kâwâh, long the standard of the empire, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was carried in triumph to the capital of Tartary. Gushtasp, who had been taken by surprise, assembled a large army, and was at first successful. He defeated the son of the sovereign of Tartary, who had plundered Bulkh, and obliged him to retreat; but pursuing him to the Oxus, he was encountered by another army, and completely routed: half his troops were slain, and the remainder with difficulty fled to Khorassan. Reduced to such distress, he had no remedy but to implore the aid of his injured son. His celebrated minister, Jamasp, was employed on this mission; and Isfundear was not only prevailed on to pardon the injuries he had sustained, but to avenge the cause of his sovereign and his country. He was[i] chiefly induced to come forward by his devotion to the religion of Zoroaster; and he engaged in the holy war against its enemies with all the zeal of unconquerable enthusiasm. His success was complete[k]; and every new victory gave this hero of Persian romance a new opportunity of showing, that his clemency and generosity were even more conspicuous than his wisdom and valour. He not only defeated his enemies in the field, but took their capital after a series of exploits[l], not surpassed by any that Roostum ever achieved. He became master of Roueendeh;

[h] Zoroaster died a few months before this invasion.

[i] Ferdosi.

[k] In one of his first victories, Ferdosi informs us, such of his enemies as remained, implored for mercy, holding a straw in their mouth. This remarkable usage still exists in parts of Tartary and India.

[l] The huft-khan, or seven stages, by which he made his way to Roueendeh, are famous in Persian romance. The first was defended by two savage wolves; the second by two enormous lions; the third by a dragon with seven heads; the fourth by a monster called ghoul or demon; the fifth by a griffin, or winged monster; the sixth by a perpetual fountain of immense height; and the seventh by a great lake bounded by lofty mountains.

killed the king and a great number of the inhabitants; released two of his sisters, who had been taken at Bulkh; and, what was more important than all, recovered the sacred banner of the empire, the Durufsh Kawanee[m]. The author who relates this great conquest, gives no particulars of the expeditions of Isfundear to India, Arabia, and the West[n], which he merely states that he conquered. We have however a romance in Persian, wholly dedicated to the exploits of this prince[o]; and in it there is a long fabulous account of his western expedition.

After Isfundear had subdued every foreign enemy, he expected that reward which he had so long been promised—the crown of Persia; but Gushtasp, unwilling to resign power, evaded the performance of his promise. "I should feel ashamed," said he, "to give you an unsettled kingdom, such as mine is at present. Roostum, and his family, have thrown off their allegiance, and established their independence in Seistan. They must be reduced; if my son effects this, and brings that chief bound to our presence, he shall receive the reward his unequalled valour merits—the sovereignty of a great and tranquil empire[p]." The prince started at this proposition; it required all the flattery and eloquence of his father to reconcile him to the desperate attempt. At last however he was induced to give a reluctant consent to an expedition fatal at once to his fame and his existence. It would be tedious to dwell on the numerous adventures which preceded the combat between Isfundear and Roostum. They are all honourable to the valour and generosity of both. Isfundear[q] earnestly solicited Roostum to permit his hands to be bound, that he might satisfy his father's command; but the hero, who offered every other concession, refused to assent to an act which would

[m] The standard of Kâwâh.

[n] Room, or Asia Minor.

[o] It is called the Isfundear Namah.

[p] Ferdosi.

[q] Ferdosi.

bring disgrace on his family. A battle commenced, in which several principal chiefs on both sides were slain. Isfundear encountered Roostum; and the latter was wounded, and obliged to retire from the field: he returned[r] however next day to the combat; and on this occasion, we are told, had provided an arrow, with a double point[s], to pierce the eyes of Isfundear, whose body was invulnerable, probably from being cased in armour[t]. Before Roostum commenced the second combat, he offered all his wealth, if that would satisfy a prince, to whom he professed the most perfect allegiance; but Isfundear would listen to no terms, except that the hero should permit himself to be bound, and led to Gushtasp. The contest began, and continued with fury, till Roostum drew the fatal arrow. It flew with too certain an aim, and closed for ever the eyes of the brave prince, who exclaimed, as he writhed under the excruciating wound, "This is a just termination to the desperate and senseless enterprise in which the schemes of my wicked father have involved me[u]." Before he died, he gave over his son, Bahman, to the charge of Roostum, and entreated that the hero would educate him as a warrior. Pooshtung, the brother of Isfundear, took up his body, placed it on a bier, and proceeded, with all his army clothed in black[x], to Bulkh. The old monarch too late saw the folly of his plans: he long mourned over his irretrievable loss; before his death, he sent for his grandson, Bahman, and appointed him his heir and successor.

The worship of fire spread in every direction during

[r] Ferdosi says, he was miraculously recovered by the simurgh, or griffin, and from it received the fatal arrow which gave him the victory in the next day's combat.

[s] Arrows of this shape are still common in Persia.

[t] He is often called Roueetun, or brass body, to express his being invulnerable.

[u] Ferdosi.

[x] It would appear that this colour has been that of mourning in Persia from the most ancient ages; but their term, Sia, may perhaps be translated dark, as it applies to dark blue and dark brown as well as black.

Gushtasp's reign; this circumstance has given him a fame which he does not seem to merit on any other ground. Persian historians inform us that he reigned sixty years[y].

Gushtasp was succeeded by his grandson, Bahman, better known in history by his title, Ardisheer Dirazdust[z]; the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. He is celebrated for the wisdom he displayed in the internal regulation of his empire. He knew, we are told, by means of secret agents, every action, important or trifling, of the numerous officers he employed; and they were rewarded or punished as they conducted themselves. Every year, some of the principal cultivators of each province waited on the monarch; and, from a full communication with them, he became minutely acquainted with the condition of the country.

In the commencement of his reign, the celebrated Roostum was slain[a] by the treachery of his brother; and Bahman immediately invaded Seistan with an immense

[y] It has been before stated, that he was the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks; if so, his long reign probably includes both his own and that of his successor, Xerxes, who, there is reason to think, from grounds which will be stated hereafter, is the Isfundear of Eastern authors.

[z] The Persian name, Ardisheer, would at first seem easily deducible from the compound term Oodoo-Sheer, which means the lion of the camp. But nothing can be more fallacious than such etymologies, unless we are well versed in the language of the period when the title was given. The Zund and Shanscrit have a marked affinity; and in the latter, Urddha-Siras means "of exalted head." All Persian authors call him Diraz-dust, or Long-Arms; and Ferdosi describes this deformity in one of his stanzas:

"Chu-ber-pai-budee, ser-angoosha
Az-zanu-fuzunter-budee-mushtee."

"When he stood on his feet, the ends of the fingers of his hands reached below his knee." This description corresponds with that of Greek authors.

His name Bah-man is a Shanscrit compound, which signifies "possessing arms."

[a] If Roostum lived to this reign, the four preceding must have been very short, as he bears a distinguished part in each; but the probability is, that the hero's life has been prolonged by those fabulists, who have founded their fame, and that of their country, on his exploits.

army. According to one account[b], he was completely successful, though opposed not only by Feramurz, the son, but by Banoo Kaishub, the redoubtable daughter of Roostum. Azerburzeen[c], the son of Feriburz, rebelled against Bahman, and recovered his patrimony of Seistan; and, if we are to believe Ferdosi, (whose partiality to Roostum extends to his grandson,) he slew Ardisheer. This however is not confirmed by other authors. It is alleged that Bahman's motive for invading Seistan, was a desire to revenge the death of his father; but it would appear[d] that Roostum was dead before that attack was made, and that the Persian king mourned him for one week. Old Zal, we are informed[e], was still alive, and was confined in an iron cage by the conqueror.

Bahman is said by one author[f] to have extended his conquests to the westward, and to have deprived the son[g] of Bucht-ul-Nasser of his government of Babylon, on account of the crimes and excesses of his father. He appointed, the same author adds, Koresch to be his successor; under whom the Jews were treated with kindness, and had the privilege granted them of being governed by a ruler of their own nation. It is added that these favours to the Jews were by the express orders of Bahman, whose favourite lady was a Jewess[h].

The authors whom we follow, appear to become more fabulous as their history advances. Bahman[i], they say,

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] The meaning of this word is, *fire upon the saddle*; from his history, he may be called the Persian Hotspur.

[d] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. D'Herbelot states the contrary, but does not give his authority.

[e] Ferdosi.

[f] Tarikh Tubree.

[g] The Belshazzar of the Scriptures.

[h] Josephus says, Artaxerxes was the Ahasuerus of Scripture, who married Esther. The long reign of this monarch includes that of two or more of his successors, who are not noticed by Persian writers.

[i] According to them, he ruled Persia one hundred and twelve years.

was succeeded by his daughter, Homai, who when she ascended the throne, was pregnant by her own father[k]. Shame led her to conceal this; and the child was given over to a nurse to be put to death. Its life however was miraculously preserved[l]; and the unnatural mother first recognised her son, when his fortune and valour had made him a victorious general in her army. Homai immediately resigned the crown to him, and retired to a private life. She reigned thirty-two years, and had many great qualities. The celebrated hall, Chehel-Minar[m], at Istakhar or Persepolis, is said to have been built by her.

The reign of Darab the First was distinguished by several wars; particularly one against Philip of Macedon, whom Persian authors call Phillippoos of Room. Though this war was unsuccessful at first, they state that its termination was glorious; but this is evidently the foundation of a fable, which national vanity has led them to devise, respecting the birth of Alexander[n]. They affirm, that Philip was ultimately reduced to such distress, as to be glad to extricate himself, by agreeing to give his daughter[o] to Darab, and to pay him an annual tribute of one thousand eggs of pure gold. Darab the First[p] reigned only twelve years. He built Darabjird, a town about a hundred and fifty miles to the east of Shiraz; which, though fallen from its former grandeur, still has a number of inhabitants.

[k] This is not unlikely, if we are to credit Grecian authors regarding the morals of Persian monarchs at this epoch of their history.

[l] The infant was given over to a nurse to be destroyed; put into a basket and thrown into a river, whence it was taken by a peasant, and educated to a humble life; but the royal spirit of the youth soon showed itself, and obtained distinction, &c. This fable has been told of others.

[m] This means forty pillars. In Persia, forty signifies an indefinite number, and may be translated "many."

[n] He is called Secunder by all Asiatic writers.

[o] This daughter, they assert, was sent back to her father when pregnant with Alexander. Various reasons are assigned for her return. The Zeenut-ul-Mujalis, which pretends to *more particular information*, declares it was on account of her bad breath.

[p] I have stated elsewhere my reasons for conjecturing that he is the Darius-Nothus of Greek writers.

Darab the Second, the Darius Codomanus of the Greeks, according to the report of Persian authors, was the opposite of his father. He was deformed in body and depraved in mind; and his bad administration[q] prepared the way for the success of Alexander. But the Persians have always been the same; and it cannot be surprising that a nation, distinguished for vanity, should have consented to any fable, however improbable, which palliated the disgraceful conquest of their country. To this feeling we must ascribe their tales respecting the descent of Alexander. He is described as a son of Darab the First, who, aided by the Persians themselves, easily possessed himself of a crown which was his right, and which was weakly defended by his unpopular and unworthy brother. Several of the most respectable Persian historians[r] reject this fable, and admit that Alexander was the son of Philip. The quarrel, we are told, originated in Alexander refusing to pay the tribute of golden eggs, to which his father had agreed. "The bird that laid the eggs has flown to the other world!" is reported to have been the answer of the Macedonian prince, to the Persian envoy who demanded the tribute. After this Darab sent another ambassador[s], whom he charged to deliver a bat, a ball, and a bag of very small seed, called gunjud. The bat and ball were meant to throw ridicule on Alexander's youth, being a fit amusement for his age. The bag of seed was intended as an emblem of the innumerable Persian army. Alexander took the bat into his hand, and said, "This is my power, with which I will strike the ball of your monarch's dominion; and this fowl (he had ordered one to be brought) shall soon show what a mere morsel his army will prove to mine." The grain was instantly eaten up; and Alexander gave a wild melon[t] to the envoy, desiring him to tell his sovereign what he

[q] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.
[r] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, &c.
[s] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.
[t] Its Persian name is henzal, and its taste very bitter.

had heard and seen, and to give him that fruit, the taste of which would enable him to judge of the bitter lot that awaited him[u]. Messages of this character are not uncommon among Asiatic monarchs; and we have a popular instance in our own traditions, of one[x] which bears an extraordinary similarity to that now related.

Alexander was for some time occupied in subduing the refractory cities of Greece, after which he invaded Persia; but few particulars are recorded by the Persian historians of the operations preceding the great action, wherein Darab lost his throne and his life[y]. In the account of that action, they dwell chiefly on those circumstances which relate to the death of Darab, and the conduct of his conqueror.

According to them, during the heat of the battle, two soldiers of Darab[z], taking advantage of his being unguarded, slew him, and fled to Alexander, expecting a great reward. That monarch, the moment he learnt what had happened, hastened to the spot where the Persian king had fallen. He found him in the pains of death, stretched on the ground, and covered with dust and blood. He alighted from his horse, and raised the head of his enemy upon his knees. The soul of the conqueror was melted at the sight: he shed tears, and kissed the cheek of the expiring Darab; who, opening his eyes, exclaimed, "The world has a thousand doors, through which its tenants continually enter and pass away!"—"I swear to you," said Alexander, "I never wished for a day like this! I desired not to see your royal head in the dust, nor that blood should stain these cheeks[a]!"

[u] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[x] That from the Dauphin of France to Henry the Fifth, when Prince of Wales, as related by Shakspeare.

[y] Persian writers give no detailed account of Alexander's operations in Persia, and erroneously state that Darius was killed in the first action.

[z] The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh says, they were natives of Hamadan. Ferdosi calls them two viziers: their names were Mahesiar and Jamisiar; in which we can trace no similarity to that of Bessus.

[a] The account which Persian writers give of the death of Darius, though embellished, is not substantially different from that of Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, or Quintus Curtius.

When Darab heard his conqueror mourning over him, he sighed deeply, and said, he trusted his base murderers would not escape; that Alexander would not place a stranger on the throne of Persia; and would not injure the honour of his family, but marry his daughter Roushunuk[b]. The moment after he had expressed these wishes, he expired; his body was embalmed with musk and amber, wrapt in a cloth of gold, and placed in a rich coffin adorned with jewels. In that state, it was carried to the sepulchral vault with the most extraordinary honours. Ten thousand men with drawn swords preceded it; ten thousand more followed; an equal number marched on each flank. Alexander himself, with the nobles of Persia, and the great officers of his army, attended as mourners[c]. As soon as the funeral was over the two murderers of Darab were hanged[d]. Some time afterwards, Alexander married Roushunuk, and nominated the brother of the late king to the sovereignty of Persia; but his power does not appear to have ever been established, as the policy of Alexander led him to divide the empire into ninety different principalities.

As we must reject those fables which the national vanity of the Persians has invented, about the descent of Alexander, he cannot be considered as a monarch of the Kaianian dynasty, of which there were nine princes, reckoning Darab the Second as the last. That the authorities we possess for the history of this family are unsatisfactory, is but too apparent. The names of several princes have been omitted:

[b] Roushun must have been her name; the final *k* is a diminutive; and, as such, often added to a term of endearment. In this name we easily trace the Roxana of the Greeks.

[c] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[d] Bessus, the murderer of Darius, was put to death in a cruel manner: his body was fastened to the ground; the boughs of two trees were then bent, and, after being fastened each to one of his limbs, allowed to spring back into their natural position. It tore him asunder. This is mentioned by Plutarch. The same mode of executing criminals is still occasionally used in Persia.

while the length of the reigns of some, and the actions of others, have been greatly exaggerated. But, amid the fables that cloud this part of ancient Persian history, are many facts which merit to be preserved. It is only by a patient comparison of the various and opposite histories and traditions of early nations that we can expect to arrive at truth: and we must not allow our search after the intrinsic ore to be retarded by disgust at the dross with which it is always surrounded.

Chapter IV.

THE HISTORY, FROM PERSIAN AUTHORITIES, OF SECUNDER ROOMEE, OR ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS IN PERSIA.

The different accounts which Persian authors give of Alexander's birth, and of his conduct on the day when Darius lost his crown and life, have been noticed in the preceding chapter. The few remaining particulars recorded in their histories, of a monarch who conquered their country and effected so complete a change in their government, are entitled to attention, if only as a matter of curiosity.

They state that Philip King of Macedon was murdered; and that the assassin[e] was impelled by love for Alexander's mother[f]. That prince, who had been absent[g], returned at the moment, and slew the murderer. Philip did not die immediately, but lived to know that he was revenged by his son, and to send for his minister, Aristotle, his

[e] The name of the assassin, according to them, was Kuloos.

[f] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[g] Alexander, the Persian author states, was engaged in a war against a prince, whom he calls the son of Kylalous, and besieging a city named Burakous. The assassin of his father fled to the queen for protection, and was slain by the young prince when holding his mother's robe.

courtiers, and his principal officers: he commanded them to obey Alexander, who, after his father's interment, addressed his subjects in the following terms:—"O my people! your king is no more! and I have no right to any authority over you. I can only consider myself as one of yourselves, and must in every thing I undertake seek your aid and support. But I entreat you to listen to my counsel at this moment. Elect a ruler to govern you; continue to fear God[h], and he will protect his subjects." The people exclaimed[i], "We have never been addressed in this manner before; but we will take your advice: we know none but you fit to rule." They all rose and paid him their obeisance, and placed the diadem upon his head.

The arms of Alexander, immediately after his elevation, were turned against different states of Greece which resisted his authority; and when he had completely succeeded in this object, he collected a great army to invade Persia. After the conquest of that kingdom, he marched toward India. His first enterprise in this quarter, was against a prince called Keyd[k], to whom he sent an envoy, requiring him to submit and pay tribute. Keyd not only agreed, but declared himself ready to resign his power, or even his life, if Alexander desired he should. "I will send," he said to the Grecian envoy, "to the great conqueror, your master, my beautiful daughter[l]; a goblet[m] made of a most splendid ruby; a philosopher of great science; and a physician,

[h] It is the belief of all Mahomedans, that Secunder (their name for Alexander) adored one great and supreme God.

[i] This may allude to the address of Alexander to the States of Greece, when he sought their union and support in the Persian war, and to their consent that he should be the leader of the Greeks in that memorable expedition.

[k] Keyd-Hindee; perhaps the Taxilus of the Greek historians.

[l] The beauties of this princess are glowingly described by the Persian author, who terms her "a sweet-scented rose, that had never looked on dust; a spring that never had been vexed by a cold blast."

[m] The property of this goblet was, that it continually replenished itself.

who has such skill, that he can revive the dead[n]." The envoy returned to Alexander; who was delighted with the success of his mission, and instantly sent for the princess, the goblet, the philosopher, and the physician. Keyd not only sent them, but added an immense present of his richest jewels. The conqueror of the world became enamoured of the fair princess; and in her arms lost all desire for the dominions of her father. He next made war against Foor[o], whom he defeated and slew, and then marched against the Emperor of China[p]. That monarch did not consider himself equal to the contest, and went in disguise to the Grecian camp. He was discovered, and brought to Alexander, who demanded, how he could venture to act as he had done? The emperor replied: "I was anxious to see you and your army: I could have no fear on my own account, as I knew I was not an object of dread to Alexander; besides, if he were to slay me, my subjects would instantly raise another king to the throne. But of this I have no fear, being satisfied that Alexander can never be displeased with an action which shows a solicitude to obtain his friendship." The conqueror was gratified with this flattery, and concluded a treaty by which the country of the emperor was spared, on his agreeing to pay tribute. The emperor went to his capital to make preparations for the entertainment of his great ally: on the third day after he left the Grecian camp, he returned with an army, the dust of which announced its immense numbers, and made Alexander prepare against treachery, by arraying his troops in order of battle. When both lines were opposite, the Emperor of China, with his ministers and nobles, alighted, and went towards the Grecian prince, who inquired why he had broken his faith

[n] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[o] Certainly Poor or Porus, as *F* and *P* in the Pehlivi are the same.

[p] Probably Chinese Tartary, which, in Persian authors, is always confounded with China. This, no doubt, alludes to the expedition of Alexander against the Scythians; but the events are related differently.

and collected such a force[q]. "I wished," said the emperor, "to show the numbers of my army, that you might be satisfied I made peace from other motives than an inability to make war. It was from consulting the heavenly bodies that I have been led to submit. The Heavens aid you, and I war not with them[r]." Alexander was gratified, and observed, it would ill become him to exact tribute from so great, so wise, and so pious a monarch; he would therefore be satisfied with his friendship. The emperor, on hearing this, took his leave, and sent a present of jewels, gold, and beautiful ladies[s], to the illustrious conqueror.

The astrologers had foretold, that when Alexander's death was near, he would place his throne where the ground was of iron and the sky of gold. When the hero, fatigued with conquest, directed his march toward Greece, he was one day seized with a bleeding at the nose[t]. A general, who was near, unlacing his coat of mail, spread it for the prince to sit on; and, to defend him from the sun, held a golden shield over his head. When Alexander saw himself in this situation, he exclaimed, "The prediction of the astrologers is accomplished; I no longer belong to the living! Alas! that the work of my youth should be finished! Alas! that the plant of the spring should be cut down like the ripened tree of autumn!" He wrote to his mother, saying, he should shortly quit this earth, and pass to the regions of the dead. He requested, that the alms given on his death should be bestowed on such as had never seen the miseries of this world, and had never lost those who were dear to them.

[q] These facts appear applicable to the conduct of Taxilus, then Prince of Scythia.

[r] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[s] From the earliest ages to the present day, all Asiatic conquerors, from the monarch who subdues kingdoms to the chief that seizes a village, have claimed some fair females as the reward of conquest; it is, therefore, natural for Persian authors to suppose that Alexander the Great did not fail to avail himself of this custom.

[t] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

In conformity to his will, his mother sought, but in vain, for such persons: all had tasted the woes and griefs of life; all had lost those whom they loved. She found in this a consolation, as her son had intended, for her great loss. She saw that her own was the common lot of humanity.

Alexander, according to Persian authors[u], died at the city of Zour[x]; though some say at Babul, or Babylon. He was thirty-six years of age, and had reigned twelve: six previous to the conquest of Persia, and six subsequently. His body[y] was embalmed, and sent to Greece.

Persian historians seldom give a character of the monarch whose actions they relate; but their mode of recording his remarkable sayings is, perhaps, as happy, and as descriptive as the more laboured efforts of European writers. They have preserved many anecdotes of the great conqueror of the world; some of which merit notice, as they show the opinion among the nations he subdued, of his mode-

[u] Many authors believe that he is the prophet Zulkernyn mentioned in the Koran, and built the celebrated rampart which confines Yajouz and Majouz. These evil demons, known to us as Gog and Magog, abide, according to Persian fabulists, at mount Kaf, the centre of the world; and their progeny, *who are of all sizes and shapes*, used to plunder and lay waste the neighbouring countries, till the inhabitants complained to Alexander, who built this wall to confine them. They scratch it almost through with their claws every day; and go home, expecting they shall easily destroy in the morning the little that is left: but in the morning they find the wall rebuilt. The reason of their not effecting their object is, their never saying *Inshalla*, or *God willing;* and they never will, we are told, destroy this wall, till it happens that one of their children is called Inshalla; when they will retire, calling to the boy, "Come along, Inshalla, we shall finish to-morrow." *The accidental use of this pious expression* will prevent the wall being rebuilt. They will thus succeed in destroying it; break loose on the world; and their ravages will be one of many signs that will precede the dissolution of the universe. This note is taken from a Commentary on the Koran: the fable probably alludes to the wall at the Straits of the Caspian, which Alexander built to prevent the destructive inroads of the Scythians into Persia.

[x] This city is in Kurdistan. It is the Siazuros of the Romans.

[y] The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh states, that the body of the conqueror was first put into a golden coffin; but afterwards, at the command of his mother, into one of Egyptian marble.

ration, wisdom, and magnanimity. A chief of the enemy was one day brought before Alexander with his hands bound: he ordered him to be liberated. One of his courtiers observed, "Were I you, I should not show such humanity to that man." "And it is because I am not you," replied Alexander, "that I have pardoned him[a]. I freely forgive my enemies, because I take pleasure in exercising humanity, none in cruelty[a]." He once degraded an officer of distinction by removing him to an inferior situation: some time afterwards, he asked him how he liked his new office. "It is not the station," replied the officer, "which gives consequence to the man, but the man to the station. No situation can be so trifling as not to require wisdom and virtue in the performance of its duties[b]." The monarch was so pleased with this answer, that he restored him to his former rank. The same author who has recorded the above informs us, that Alexander, being asked how he had been able, at so early an age, and in so short a period, to conquer such vast regions, and establish so great a name, replied, "I used my enemies so well, that I compelled them to be my friends; and I treated my friends with such constant and extraordinary regard, that they became unalterably attached to me." When this great prince was asked, why he paid more honour to his master, Aristotle, than to his father, "My father," he replied, "brought me from heaven to earth; by the aid of my master, I ascend from earth to heaven." He was subject, the same author states, to violent anger; and used to warn those he loved of the danger of speaking to princes, when under the influence of passion. "They are as a sea," he was wont to say, "dangerous even in a calm, but dreadful when the tempest rages."

The account of Alexander given by eastern writers con-

[a] This anecdote, with a trifling variation, is given by Greek authors.

[a] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

tains little that can be deemed authentic; and the instances are not many of its according with those facts which rest on the testimony of Greek authors. Nothing however has been noticed, but what the Persians consider his real history. They have innumerable volumes, in prose and verse, which relate his wonderful adventures by sea and land; but even they deem these fabulous; and the character of their history of this period deters us from giving any attention to their acknowledged romances.

Persian authors say, that Alexander had a son named Askanderous, but that he did not succeed to any part of his father's power, having devoted himself to study under the celebrated Aristotle. We are informed by them[c], that, a short time before his death, Alexander divided Persia among the princes of that country, whom he had deposed and plundered. He restored to them their former possessions on the tenure of military service. Each was to maintain a fixed quota of soldiers[d]. But these princes, at the death of the conqueror, threw off their obedience to his successors, and formed a feudal commonwealth of petty principalities, separate and in a great degree independent of each other, but recognising some principles of common policy, which occasionally led them to unite. This community of small states existed, according to the historians of Persia, with various changes, for more than three centuries after the death of Alexander.

We learn from the more authentic Greek writers, that after the death of Alexander, Persia fell to the share of one of his ablest generals, Seleucus[e], who assumed the name of Nicator, or conqueror. This monarch, who

[c] Tuarikh Muntukhub.

[d] This measure is stated to have been taken by the advice of Aristotle, who considered it impossible to deprive these princes of influence over the inhabitants of Persia, unjust to slay them, and therefore politic to give them employment, of such a nature as might render them useful subjects, and prevent their being dangerous enemies.

[e] He founded Antioch, Seleucia, and several other cities.

also reigned over Syria, established the dynasty of the Seleucidæ. He was succeeded by Antiochus Soter; in the reign of whose successor, Antiochus Theos, a tributary prince or chief of the name of Arsaces revolted, slew Agathocles, the viceroy whom Antiochus had left in Persia, and founded, what is termed by western writers, the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacidæ. The foundation of this dynasty is ascribed, by eastern authors, to Ashk, a descendant of the former kings of Persia. This chief, we are told, obtained the aid of his countrymen, by informing them that he was in the possession of the sacred banner, the Durufshe Kawanee, which his uncle had saved and concealed when Darius was defeated and slain[f]. After he had overcome and put to death the viceroy[g], whom Antiochus Theos, the third king of the Seleucidæ, had appointed to rule Persia, Ashk fixed his residence at Rhé; invited all the chiefs of provinces to join him in a war against the Seleucidæ, at the same time promising to exact no tribute, and only to deem himself the head of a confederacy of princes, formed into an union for the double object of maintaining their separate independence, and freeing Persia from a foreign yoke. Such was the commencement of that era of Persian history, which is termed, by eastern authors, the Mulook-u-Tuaif, or commonwealth of tribes. As they are and always have been totally unacquainted with the constitution of free states, they, no doubt, mean by this term to describe the league of petty princes among whom the empire was divided[h]. But the accounts in Persian writers of this period, are vague and contradictory: they have evidently no materials to form an authentic narrative: and it is too near the date at which their real history commences, to admit of their

[f] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[g] Agathocles. The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh calls him Abtabeah.

[h] We are told by Pliny, that the Parthian empire (evidently applying that term to describe the kingdom of Persia) was divided into eighteen kingdoms.—*Ancient History*, vol. xi. p. 4.

indulging in fable. Their pretended history of the Ashkanians and Ashganians is, consequently, little more than a mere catalogue of names; even respecting these, and the dates they assign to the different princes, hardly two authors are agreed. Ashk the First is said to have reigned fifteen years[i]. Some authors ascribe the defeat and capture of Seleucus Callinicus, King of Syria, to this monarch: others to his son, Ashk the Second. The latter was succeeded by his brother, Shahpoor[k], who, after a long contest with Antiochus the Great, in which he experienced several reverses, concluded a treaty of peace with that monarch, by which his right to Parthia and Hyrcania was recognised.

From the death of this prince, there appears to be a lapse of two centuries in the Persian annals of their country, for they inform us, that his successor was Baharam Gudurz; and, if this is the prince whom western writers term Gutarzes, as there is reason to conclude, we know, from authentic history, that he was the third prince of the second dynasty of the Arsacidæ; it was he who revenged the death of John the Baptist upon the Israelites.

Persian authors inform us, that Gudurz[l] was succeeded by his son, Volas[m], from whom the crown descended to Hoormuz[n], and then to his brother, Narsi. At his death, another of his brothers, whose name was Firoze[o], obtained the throne: his successor, Khoosroo[p], carried on a war

[i] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. Khondemir only allows him ten.

[k] Shahpoor is, no doubt, the Artabanes of the Greeks.

[l] They pass over his son, Vonones, who reigned for a short period.

[m] His name is sometimes written Pollas: he was the Volgeses of the Greeks, whose war with the Emperor Nero, and embassy to Vespasian, are related in Roman history.

[n] Hoormuz appears to have been Artabanes the Fourth of the Romans; but his brother and successor, Narsi, is not noticed, under that name, by western writers.

[o] Probably Pacorus.

[p] Some Persian authors omit even this prince, but he is mentioned by Khondemir.

with the Emperor Trajan, in which he was unsuccessful, and lost his capital, Ctesiphon; but, at the death of Trajan, he concluded a peace with Adrian, and recovered his possessions. Volas and Volasin[q], according to Persian writers, were next in succession to Khoosroo: and Volasin left the crown to his son, Arduan[r], who was engaged in a war with the Romans, before he was attacked and slain by the celebrated Ardisheer[s]. Some Persian authors ascribe his death, and the overthrow of his power, to Arduan, the son of Ashg, a lineal descendant from Kai Kaoos[t]; saying that Arduan founded a dynasty, of eight princes, whose aggregate reigns occupied near a century and a half. But we are told by the same author[u] who informs us of the rise of this family, that our Saviour was born during the reign of Khoosroo, the son and successor of Ashg, who had obtained the crown by the death of Arduan, a monarch that, we know, lived more than two centuries after that event. It would appear, therefore, that the family of the Ashganians either never existed, or were contemporary with the Ashkanians. A learned and respectable oriental historian, who tries to reconcile these contradictory accounts, confesses himself lost in the confused and opposite statements of different authors. One[x], he observes, says, that Arduan, son of Ashg, who destroyed the Ashkanian dynasty, was descended from Kai Kaoos. Another[y] relates, that they were of the same race as the dynasty which was overthrown; while many historians omit all

[q] Volas and Volasin are Vologeses the Second and Third of Roman history; the latter of whom carried on a war with the Emperor Severus.

[r] Artabanes the Fifth.

[s] Artaxerxes.

[t] Khondemir says, that Ashg was a direct descendant of Kai Kaoos. Many authors take no notice of him or his successors, while others suppose they were contemporaries of the Ashkanians, and ruled some of the provinces of Persia.

[u] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[x] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[y] Tarikh Julaallee.

mention of them[1]. "God alone," exclaims this author[a] in despair, "knoweth the truth."

From the death of Alexander till the reign of Artaxerxes is near five centuries; and the whole of that remarkable era may be termed a blank in eastern history: yet, when we refer to Roman writers, we find this period abounds with events of which the vainest nation might be proud; and that Parthian monarchs, whose names cannot now be discovered in the history of their own country[b], were the only sovereigns upon whom the Roman arms, in the very zenith of their power, could make no permanent impression. But this, no doubt, may be attributed to other causes than the skill and valour of the Persians. It was to the nature of their country, and their singular mode of warfare, that they owed their frequent advantages over the disciplined legions of Rome. The frontier which the kingdom of Parthia presented to the Roman empire, extended from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. It consists of lofty and barren mountains, of rapid and broad streams, and of wide-spreading deserts. In whatever direction the legions of Rome advanced, the country was laid waste. The attacks were made, not on the army, but on the supplies by which it was supported; and the mode in which the Parthian[c] warrior

[1] The following is an account of the Ashganian princes, agreeably to the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh:

	Computed years of reign.
ARDUAN, son of ASHO	23
KHOOSROO, son of ARDUAN	19
PELLAS, son of ASHR	12
GUDURZ, son of PELLAS	30
NARSI, son of GUDURZ	30
NARSI, son of NARSI	18
ARDUAN, slain by ARDISHEER: the number of years he reigned is not noticed.	

[a] Khondemir.

[b] Mithridates is not mentioned; nor Orodes, in whose reign Crassus was defeated; nor Surena, the general by whom that great victory was obtained.

[c] Foster deems this practice of the Parthian horsemen, a confirmation of their descent from the warriors of Tartary; but the usage is, and always has been, as common to Persian as to Tartar tribes.

took his unerring aim, while his horse was carrying him from his enemy, may personify the system of warfare by which his nation maintained its independence. The system was suited to the soil, to the man, and to the fleet and robust animal on which he was mounted; and its success was so certain, that the bravest veterans of Rome murmured when their leaders talked of a Parthian war.

Chapter V.

HISTORY OF THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY, FROM ARDISHEER BABIGAN TO YEZD-E-JIRD.

The Sassanian dynasty forms a new era in the history of Persia. These monarchs were engaged in constant wars with the Roman empire; and the events recorded by the historians of Rome enable us to correct the accounts of oriental authors, and to discriminate with more exactness, than we could before, between truth and fable. I shall continue to follow Persian writers; but an occasional reference to better authorities will explain obscure passages, and fix the dates of the different reigns, and of the most important occurrences.

Ardisheer Babigan [d], the son of Babek, was, we are told, a descendant from Sassan [e], the son of Bahman, and grandson of Isfundear. His father was an inferior officer in the public service. The Governor of Darabjird, Peri, learnt that Babek had a son, who, though quite a youth,

[d] Artaxerxes the First of the Greeks.

[e] According to the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, the mother was the daughter of Babek, whose father, Sassan, was the son of Sassan, a son of Bahman, the son of Isfundear. Other authors assign him a less noble origin. That of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh cannot be correct, as the period from the death of Isfundear till his reign is six centuries.

was already distinguished for genius and courage. He sent for him; and the abilities of Ardisheer recommended him so much to Peri[f], that whenever any cause prevented his attending to the duties of government, he committed the charge to the young favourite, who gained so much credit by his conduct on these occasions, that, when Peri died, he was appointed his successor. It is not surprising that a youth like Ardisheer, whose rise had been so rapid, should have formed the most ambitious schemes. We are told, that his imagination presented to him in his sleep the shadows of his waking thoughts; and these dreams[g] of glory were interpreted by flatterers into certain presages of future success. All historians agree that it was the belief in such visions which first led him to attempt the throne of Persia; and if their truth was seriously credited by him and his followers, no doubt they must have aided him in attaining the splendid destiny which they promised.

The first efforts of Ardisheer to seize the kingdom were supported by his father, Babek; who, after putting to death the governor appointed by Arduan, made himself master of Fars; but Babek was partial to his eldest son, Shahpoor, and proclaimed him ruler of that province the moment he had conquered it. The old man survived but a short time an act which proved the source of great divisions in his family. Ardisheer, when his father died, advanced against his brother, who was seized by his relations[h], and put into his hands. This made him master of Fars[i]. We are not informed what he did with Shahpoor; but the con-

[f] Various and contradictory accounts are given by historians of Ardisheer's progress to power. I have generally followed the Tarikh Tubree, Rozut-ul-Suffa, and the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[g] The dreams of Babek and Ardisheer are recorded by Persian historians; who also ascribe dreams of a contradictory tendency to his enemy, Arduan.

[h] According to some, two of his younger brothers were the leaders of this conspiracy.

[i] Istakhr appears to have been the capital of Fars at this period.

spirators, who expected he would reward their treachery, were put to death.

After settling Fars, Ardisheer undertook an expedition against Kerman, which he subdued. He appears to have met with hardly any opposition in his first enterprises; and he not only made himself master of Isfahan, but of almost all Irak, before Arduan, the reigning prince, took the field against him. Arduan remained in the mountainous country about Hamadan[k] and Kermanshah, till he was compelled, by the success of Ardisheer, either to oppose his further progress, or to abandon his throne. He resolved to put all to the hazard of one action. The armies met in the plain of Hoormuz[l], where a desperate battle ensued, in which Arduan lost his crown and his life; and the son of Babek was hailed in the field[m] with the proud title of Shahan Shah, or King of Kings[n]; a name ever since assumed by the sovereigns of Persia.

Ardisheer took advantage of the impression this great victory had made, not only to subdue the remainder of the empire, but to enlarge its limits, which he extended, if we credit Persian authors, to the Euphrates[o] in one

[k] These countries are called Jubal, or the Mountainous.—*Tarikh-e-Tubree.*

[l] Probably the fine valley of Ram-Hoormuz, situated between the cities of Shuster and Bebahan, and watered by the Jerokh, which has its source in the mountains near the latter. This valley is about thirty miles from the sea. It is one of the most delightful in Persia. The town of Ram-Hoormuz on this plain is said to have been built by Hoormuz, the grandson of Ardisheer, who used often to halt here; and it was in consequence called Ram-Hoormuz, or the Rest of Hoormuz. Ram is, in Pehlivi, the same as Aram in Persian, and signifies "rest."

[m] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[n] We are also informed, that he took the high title of Khoosroo,—an august name, which, Ferdosi says, no ruler since Darab had ventured to assume. But the fact is otherwise; one monarch of the Parthian dynasty is only known by the name of Khoosroo, and many kings of that race inscribed the title of King of Kings on their coins.

[o] Though the events recorded by Persian authors of the reign of Ardisheer are almost all confirmed by Greek writers, and the result of his war with the Emperor Alexander Severus seems to have been favourable to the Per-

quarter, and the kingdom of Khaurizm on the other. He is said to have founded a city on the banks of the Tigris; and, as the same history[p] mentions that he resided at Madain, it has been supposed that he built that capital: we have, however, evidence of its existence long before. But it is not improbable that Ardisheer found Madain in ruin, and might, therefore, from restoring it to its former grandeur, have some right to the title of its founder.

The fame of Ardisheer spread in every direction; all the petty states in the vicinity of his empire proffered submission; while the greatest monarchs of the east and west courted his friendship, by sending to his court the most magnificent presents, and splendid embassies. Sated with success, and wearied of power, he resigned the government into the hands of his son, Shahpoor, after having reigned fourteen years[q] as absolute sovereign of Persia, subsequent to the defeat and death of Arduan. He had exercised a more limited authority twelve years before that event.

Ardisheer Babigan (whom the Roman historians call Artaxerxes) was one of the wisest and most valiant princes that ever reigned over Persia. His life, indeed, affords the best evidence of his extraordinary character. He raised himself from the lowest situation to be sovereign of a great nation, that had been in an unsettled and distracted state for several centuries. The revolution which he effected in the condition of his country was wonderful.

sian arms*, yet the fact of his having extended the empire to the Euphrates is denied. It is expressly stated that he did not recover Mesopotamia from the Romans.

[p] Rozut-ul-Suffa. If Madain is Ctesiphon, that city had certainly been built long before. It was first a Persian camp, on the eastern banks of the Tigris, immediately opposite to the Grecian city of Seleucia, which in time rivalled and eclipsed it. Ctesiphon was often destroyed and rebuilt, which accounts for the variations in the descriptions given by ancient authors of this capital. One great arch and some unshaken mounds are all that is now left of its grandeur: of Seleucia there is hardly a trace remaining.

[q] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

* Gibbon, vol. i. p. 358.

The name of Parthia, which western writers had given to Persia, after the death of Alexander, ceased at his elevation; and the kingdom which he founded was recognised as that of Persia. His countrymen deem Ardisheer the restorer of that great empire, which had been created by Cyrus and lost by Darius.

Persian writers have preserved sayings of this prince which display both goodness and wisdom. He was wont to observe, "That when a king is just, his subjects must love him, and continue obedient; but the worst of all monarchs," he added, "is he whom the wealthy, and not the wicked, dread."—"There can be no power," he remarked, "without an army; no army without money; no money without agriculture; and no agriculture without justice." It was a saying of his, "That a ferocious lion was better than an unjust king; but an unjust king was not so bad as a long war." He also used to say, "That kings should never use the sword where the cane would answer." A fine lesson to despotic monarchs, whom it was meant to teach, that they should never take away life when the offence will admit of a less punishment.

Ardisheer was not more famed for the splendour of his military achievements, than for the regulations which he introduced to preserve internal peace. Daily reports were made to him of what passed, not only in his capital, but in every province of his vast empire; and his knowledge on these points extended even to the private actions of his subjects[r], who, aware of his extraordinary information, regarded him with that mixed love and fear, which it was the object of his rule to inspire[s]. However, Ardisheer, with

[r] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[s] We are told, that Ardisheer was learned as well as wise. He is the reputed author of two remarkable works. The first entitled, "The Karnameh," in which he gives an account of his travels and enterprises. The second was a work upon the best mode of living; in which rules, drawn from his own experience and judgment, were prescribed for all ranks of men. This book appears to have been greatly admired by his countrymen;

all his great qualities, was a bigot: he not only laboured to restore the authority of the magi, but enforced, by sanguinary persecutions, a strict attention to the orthodox tenets of their religion. Amid the general confusion into which the empire had been thrown, the worship established by Zoroaster had been neglected, and the nation was distracted by a thousand schisms. We know that several monarchs of the Parthian dynasty inclined to the religion of the Greeks. It probably was the policy, and not the bigotry of Ardisheer, that made him desire to introduce order and uniformity in religion as well as every other branch of his government; but his strong measures to effect this object, while they have raised him to the rank of a prophet with the followers of Zoroaster, have sunk him to that of a cruel and superstitious tyrant with all who profess another belief. Ferdosi has given us the testament[1] of this monarch in the form of a dying charge to his son; and it is remarkable, as it exhibits his opinions on the subject of religion and government.

"Never forget," said Ardisheer, "that, as a king, you are at once the protector of religion and of your country. Consider the altar and the throne as inseparable; they must always sustain each other. A sovereign without religion is a tyrant; and a people who have none, may be deemed the most monstrous of all societies. Religion may exist without a state, but a state cannot exist without religion; it is by holy laws that a political association can alone be bound. You should be to your people an example

and Nousheerwan, one of the most celebrated of his successors, had many copies of it made and circulated, with a view of establishing order and morality in the empire. That learned orientalist, Mr. Richardson, informs us, that this work was written in the Deri. He adds, that it was a journal of his public and private life, and contained many lessons on morality.—RICHARDSON's *Dissertations*, page 19.

[1] Ferdosi wrote from Pehlivi materials; and that many of these contained authentic accounts of Ardisheer there can be no doubt. We have every ground to suppose that the poet has, on this occasion, given a faithful transcript from his authorities.

of piety and virtue, but without pride or ostentation[w]." After many similar lessons, he concludes in the following words: "Remember, my son, it is the prosperity or adversity of the ruler which forms the happiness or misery of his subjects; and the fate of the nation depends on the conduct of the individual who fills the throne. The world is exposed to constant vicissitudes; learn therefore to meet the frowns of fortune with courage and fortitude, and to receive her smiles with moderation and wisdom. To sum up all: may your administration be such as to bring, at a future day, the blessings of those whom God has confined to our parental care, on your memory and mine!"

This great monarch appears to have possessed those four essential qualities, which, he was wont to say[x], should meet in a sovereign: "True and innate magnanimity of soul:"—"Real goodness of disposition:"—"Firmness enough to repress all who went out of their proper ranks:"—"And principles of conduct which prevented those who obeyed him from ever entertaining apprehensions regarding their property, their honour, or their lives."

Shahpoor[y], the son of Ardisheer, was a prince of con-

[w] Ferdosi.

[x] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

[y] A hundred fables are told of the birth and education of Shahpoor, whose mother is said to have been a daughter of Arduan. This princess, according to the Rozut-ul-Suffa, was desirous to revenge her family by poisoning Ardisheer. She was discovered in the attempt, and delivered over to a minister to be put to death; but was secretly preserved, on her declaring herself pregnant. The child, the infant Shahpoor, was carefully reared. The minister who had ventured on this act of disobedience, afterwards revealed it to his sovereign, when he was lamenting that he had no heir. Ardisheer was overjoyed, but was desirous of trying whether he could recognise his own offspring among others of a similar age. A number of youths, among whom was the young prince, were commanded to play a match at balls before the king. In the course of the play, the ball was struck close to the throne: all the boys stood aloof, except one, (the young Shahpoor,) who went forward with confidence, and picked it up. The monarch looked anxiously at his minister; who, overjoyed at an incident displaying such superior courage, bade him embrace his son. This

siderable reputation. One of the first wars of any consequence in which he was engaged, was against Manizen, an Arabian chief; who, taking advantage of his absence in Khorassan, seized on the Juzeerah, or countries between the Tigris and Euphrates, and having strongly fortified his capital of Khadr[z], bade defiance to the Persian army. Manizen lost his power and life, through the treachery of his daughter, who, actuated either by love or ambition, betrayed him to Shahpoor, on a promise of sharing his bed. But horror at her unnatural guilt prevailed over good faith; and instead of being raised to a throne, she was delivered over to an executioner, to receive that death which she had so well merited.

After Shahpoor had conquered the greater part of the Juzeerah[a], he marched against Nisibis[b], which long resisted his efforts. According to Persian authors, this celebrated fortress was at last taken, more through the prayers than the arms of his soldiers[c]. Wearied with the siege, Shahpoor commanded his army to unite in supplication to the Divinity for its fall; and Persian authors state, that the wall fell as they were imploring Heaven for success. After he had taken Nisibis, Shahpoor carried his arms into the Roman territories. He gained many important victories over that nation, whose emperor, Valerian, he made prisoner; and an emperor[d] of his election wore for a short period the

story, which I have taken from the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, is related by all Persian historians.

[z] This fortress is also termed Khazm.

[a] Juzeerah means Island, and is here applied to the countries between the Euphrates and Tigris: the Mesopotamia of the ancients.

[b] The famous Nisibis; a fort between the Tigris and Euphrates; the possession of which was continually contested by the Romans and Persians. It was taken after Shahpoor had subdued Armenia. Persian authors term this fort Nisibyn and Nisibi.

[c] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[d] The name of this pageant was Cyriadis, an obscure fugitive of Antioch. A captive Roman army was compelled to receive, with acclamations and pretended joy, the emperor whom the proud victor imposed upon them. The first act of the pageant was to conduct Shahpoor, by rapid marches, to

purple of Cæsar. The reverses which the arms of Shahpoor suffered in the latter part of his reign, are unnoticed by Persian historians. According to these, he reigned thirty-one years, and was always prosperous. After his war with the Romans, he founded many cities, of which two received his own name; Nishapore[e], in Khorassan, which is still a respectable city; and Shahpoor, near Kazeroon, in Fars[f]. Of the last hardly a trace is left, except the sculptured rocks[g]; by which, it appears, this monarch was desirous of perpetuating to the latest ages his victory over the Romans, and the great glory he had acquired by making captive one of the Cæsars[h]. In the character which the eastern writers give of this prince, they dwell chiefly on his personal courage and boundless liberality. According to them, he only desired wealth, that he might use it for good and great purposes.

Hoormuz, the son of Shahpoor, the Hormisdas of Greek authors, is said to have resembled both in person and character his grandfather, Ardisheer. His mother was the daughter of Mahrek, a petty prince, whom Ardisheer had put to death, and whose family he had persecuted, because an astrologer had predicted that a descendant of Mahrek should attain the throne of Persia. This lady, to evade the fate of her family, had fled to the tents of a shepherd, where

Antioch, then the capital of the Roman empire in the East, which was taken and plundered. The Persian king treated all the Roman provinces and towns which he subdued like an eastern conqueror, and destroyed what he could not hope to preserve; but his army suffered greatly in their retreat, which was encumbered with spoils and captives, from the active valour of Odenathus, chief of Palmyra, whose proffered friendship and splendid presents, Shahpoor, in the proud hour of victory, had treated with scorn.

[e] The prefixed syllable, *Ni*, means reed; and is said to allude to those reeds found in the marsh on which this city was originally founded. Nishapore, some authors state, was first built by Tahamurs, destroyed by Alexander, and rebuilt by Shahpoor.

[f] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.'

[g] An account of this sculpture will be given in a subsequent chapter.

[h] The emperors of Rome are always termed in, Persia, the Cæsars, or Kysurs.

she was seen by Shahpoor when hunting. The prince became enamoured, and married her, but carefully concealed his having done so from Ardisheer[i], who going one day unexpectedly to his son's house, saw young Hoormuz. He was greatly pleased with the appearance of the child, and made inquiries, which compelled Shahpoor to confess all that had happened. The joy of the old king was excessive: "The prediction of the astrologers," he exclaimed, "which gave me such alarm, is, thank God! confirmed, and a descendant of Mahrek shall succeed to my crown."

The most authentic histories[k] of Persia relate a very extraordinary action of Hoormuz, before he ascended the throne. His father, Shahpoor, had appointed him Governor of Khorassan, where he had distinguished himself, not only by repelling invaders, but in preserving the internal tranquillity of that unsettled and rebellious province. This conduct, however, did not prevent some envious and designing men from exciting suspicions of his fidelity in the breast of Shahpoor. Hoormuz was soon made acquainted with the success of his enemies. He saw the ruin impending; and causing one of his hands to be cut off, sent it to his father, desiring him to accept that unquestionable mark of his devoted allegiance. Shahpoor was struck with horror at the act which his rash suspicions had led his son to commit. He directed him to repair to court; and not only treated him with complete confidence, but loaded him with every favour that unbounded affection could bestow. This virtuous prince only reigned one year. He founded the City of Ram-Hoormuz, where they show an orange tree[l] which he is believed to have planted, and which is on that account still venerated by the inhabitants.

Baharam, the son of Hoormuz, succeeded that monarch. He was a mild and munificent prince, and much loved by

[i] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.
[k] Rozut-ul-Suffa and Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.
[l] Moullah-Saaduck's MSS.

his subjects, whom he ruled with moderation and justice. The most remarkable act of his reign was, the execution of the celebrated Mani, the founder of the sect of the Manichæans, and the author, if we believe eastern historians, of a book called Ertang, which he pretended was divine, and in which he endeavoured to reconcile the doctrines of the Metempsychosis as taught by the Hindoos, and Zoroaster's two principles of good and evil, with the tenets of the Christian religion [m]. Many followers of the latter faith looked forward to the early fulfilment of the promise which Christ had made, to send a comforter after him. To gain these, Mani boldly declared himself the Paraclete. He appears to have trusted chiefly to his pencil for success; and his paintings [n] were deemed miraculous in countries where that art was hardly known. This bold impostor made many converts, but was forced by Shahpoor to fly from Persia, whence he went to Tartary and China [o], and did not return until the reign of Baharam. That prince at first showed a disposition to embrace his faith; though most authors contend that this was a mere pretext, to lull Mani and his followers into a fatal security. The result confirms this opinion: Mani, and almost all his disciples, were put to death by order of Baharam; and the skin of the impostor was stripped off, and hung [p] up at the gate of the city of Shahpoor [q]. Baharam reigned only three years and three months, during which Persia enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

He was succeeded by his son, Baharam the Second [r], who

[m] Sir William Jones (Works, vol. v. p. 601,) inadvertently adds, "with several tenets of the Koran;" but Mani lived many generations before Mahomed.

[n] To add to the effect of his doctrines and paintings, he withdrew for a time from the world, and concealed himself in a cavern while finishing those works, which on his re-appearance he declared had descended to him from Heaven.

[o] According to some authors, he also visited India.

[p] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[q] In Fars, near Kazeroon, which appears to have been then the capital of the empire.

[r] Some authors call him the fourth of that name.

so much disgusted all his nobles by some tyrannical acts, that they entered into a conspiracy to depose and slay him. His life was preserved by the virtue of the chief pontiff, who begged that they would permit him to make an effort to reclaim their sovereign, before they threw off their allegiance. They agreed, and by his advice absented themselves from court. The king wandered through his palace alone: he saw no one: all was silence around. He became alarmed and distressed [s]. At last the chief pontiff appeared, and bowed his head in apparent misery, but spoke not a word. The king entreated him to declare what had happened. The virtuous man boldly related all that had passed; and conjured Baharam, in the name of his glorious ancestors, to change his conduct, and save himself from destruction. The king was much moved, professed himself most penitent; and said he was resolved his future life should prove his sincerity. The overjoyed high-priest, delighted at this success, made a signal, at which all the nobles and attendants were in an instant, as if by magic, in their usual places. The monarch now perceived that only one opinion prevailed on his past conduct. He repeated therefore to his nobles all he had said to the chief pontiff, and his future reign was unstained by cruelty or oppression. But the reform of the monarch did not preserve his country from the miseries which were produced by his weakness. It was during his reign, that the Roman emperor, Carus, conquered Mesopotamia, carried his arms across the Tigris, and made himself master of Ctesiphon. Persia appears at this period to have been in such a state of internal distraction, that nothing but the death of Carus could have saved it from being completely subdued. The indolent and luxurious Baharam was altogether unequal to contend against a veteran, who, though vested with the purple, retained all the rigid habits of a Roman soldier [t].

[s] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[t] We are told, that the ambassadors sent by Baharam to Carus entered the camp about sunset, when the troops were satisfying their hunger with a

Baharam, after a reign of seventeen years[u], was succeeded by his son, Baharam the Third[x], a prince only remarkable for his desire to refuse the crown, which he was compelled by the nobles to accept. His reign is hardly noticed by Persian historians, and is undistinguished by any event of consequence. He only filled the high station forced upon him for the short period of four months.

His brother Narsi[y], (the Narses of the Greeks,) who succeeded him, does not enjoy a much higher place than Baharam the Third in Persian history; although he appears, from the little that is said of him, to have devoted himself more than his predecessor to the cares of government. After a reign of nine years[z], he abdicated in favour of his son, Hoormuz; and survived that act but a very short period.

We meet in western writers with a fuller narrative of the reign of Narsi[a]; a prince who subdued almost all Armenia[b], and from whom the Emperor Galerius suffered a signal

frugal repast. They expressed their desire of being introduced to the presence of the emperor. They were conducted to a soldier seated on the grass. A piece of stale bacon, and a few hard peas, composed his supper. A coarse woollen garment of purple was the only thing that announced his dignity. The conference was conducted with the same disregard of courtly elegance. Carus, taking off a cap, which he wore to conceal his baldness, assured the ambassadors, that, unless their master acknowledged the superiority of Rome, he would speedily render Persia as naked of trees, as his own head was of hair. The ministers of the great king trembled, and retired.—Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 95.

[u] Some authors say he reigned thirteen years.

[x] Varanes the Third of Roman history. He lived in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian.

[y] According to the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, this prince succeeded his father, Baharam the Second. The short reign of his brother is not noticed in that work.

[z] Tuarikh Muajem. The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh states, that this prince reigned fourteen years. The date assigned to him by the Tuarikh Muajem accords with Western historians.

[a] Though few events are recorded of this monarch by Mahomedan writers, I am told by Moullah Firoze that he is deemed among the Parsees, or Guebers, a prince of great fame; but this was probably from his piety and great attachment to the tenets of Zoroaster.

[b] Tuarikh Muajem.

defeat on the same field which had been so fatal to Crassus[c] and his legions. Though Persian historians are general and indistinct in relating the events of this period, we can hardly account for the omission of an event so gratifying to their national pride: but they were perhaps withheld from recounting his victories by a desire to avoid the mention of his subsequent discomfiture; for Narsi did not long enjoy his success. The Romans advanced next year into Persia: their emperor, taught by experience, left the plains of Mesopotamia on the right, and carried his forces[d] through the mountains of Armenia, as more favourable for the operations of infantry, in which the strength of his army chiefly consisted. In this second campaign he made a sudden attack on the Persians, whom he defeated with great slaughter. Their monarch was wounded, but escaped, leaving his family, his sumptuous tents and costly equipage, a prize to the victors. The greatest respect and humanity were shown by Galerius to his royal captives. Soon after this action a peace was concluded, the terms of which mark the reduced state of Persia. The great province of Mesopotamia, or the Juzeerah, was ceded to the Romans. Five districts to the east of the Tigris were also given up. This last cession included the greatest part of Carduchia, the modern Kurdistan; a country more fruitful in soldiers than grain; but which, from its strength and position[e], commanded all the western part of Persia. The five districts thus ceded had before belonged to the kingdom of Armenia; and as the war had been undertaken by Galerius in defence of Tiridates[f], the ruler of that country, the fine

[c] Gibbon, vol. ii. page 145.

[d] Gibbon's Roman Empire.

[e] I travelled through this country in 1810; and should judge, from what I have read and seen of its inhabitants, that they have remained unchanged in their appearance and character for more than twenty centuries.

[f] Probably *Teerdad*, literally "the gift of the arrow;" metaphorically, "the gift of the planet Mercury," which is called Teer, or the arrow, and was one of the divinities of ancient Persia.

province of Atropatene (the modern Aderbijan) was extorted from Narsi, as a compensation to the Armenian prince for that part of his inheritance which had been made over to the Romans. Tiridates, on taking possession of this province, made Tauris (the modern Tabreez) his capital, and greatly beautified it.

Hoormuz the Second[g], the son of Narsi, ruled Persia seven years and five months. No events of consequence occurred during his reign. At his death he left no son; and the kingdom was on the point of being thrown into confusion, when the principal mobuds, or priests, and the chief officers of government, declared that one of the ladies of the haram was pregnant, and that there were certain indications of the embryo being a male[h]. The next step was to crown the expected sovereign of Persia: this was done by suspending the royal tiara over the invisible head of the unborn monarch, who in this state received the daily obeisance of his court. When the child was brought forth, it was named Shahpoor by the unanimous voice of the nobles; and every care was taken to give the young sovereign an education suited to his high duties. The whole nation appears to have taken the most affectionate interest in his progress to manhood; and the early indications of sense and spirit that he displayed, spread joy over the kingdom[i]. His minority presented an opportunity to surrounding nations, the temptation of which they could not resist; and the empire was at once invaded by the Greeks, the Tartars, and the neighbouring Arab tribes of Ben-Ayar and Abdul-Kais, who, leaving their arid plains on the southern shores of the Gulf[k], carried fire and sword into

[g] Hormisdas the Second of Roman history.

[h] The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh states, that the lady herself affirmed her belief of this, from the extraordinary liveliness of the infant, and its lying on the right side. Those who are sage on such subjects must determine what right she had to be positive from these symptoms.

[i] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[k] These tribes are represented to have been inhabitants of Lahsa and Bahrein. The latter appellation, I believe, is not limited in history to the

the fertile vallies of Persia. It was against the latter that the first efforts of the youthful monarch were directed; and he took a terrible vengeance for the excesses they had committed in Persia. The manner of his chastising these tribes, is perpetuated in his title of Zoolaktaf[l], or the Lord of the Shoulders; which originated from his directing the shoulders of the captives to be pierced, and then dislocated by a string passed through them. Shahpoor meant by this cruel punishment to strike terror into the Arabs, and to revisit on them their own horrid atrocities.

Eastern historians have decorated the life of Shahpoor with fables, which appear more extravagant from being wholly unnecessary to his glory. That, so far as it depended on his success against the Romans, would have been sufficiently confirmed by a plain and true narrative of the events of his long and splendid reign. But, while the most important of these are passed over in silence, or noticed in a very general manner, they dwell on a strange, improbable tale, which represents this proud and powerful monarch as leaving his kingdom to become a spy; as being taken at a royal feast at Constantinople, from his resemblance to his picture in the possession of the emperor; suffering, while a captive, every degradation that could be inflicted; and being at last carried, harnessed like a horse, with the Roman army, to witness the pillage and devastation of his kingdom[m]. From this situation he is said to have escaped while his guards were feasting, and to have retaliated all

island in the gulf of that name, but includes a considerable tract of the adjacent continent.

[l] It is also written Zaulachtaf. Eastern authors are agreed with respect to the origin of this title. Gibbon confounds the irruption of the Arab tribes with an attack made by a chief of the Juzeerah, called Tayer, who made prisoner a sister, or female relation of Shahpoor; and tells us, that after conquering this prince, he treated him with such humanity, that he was called Dhoulacnaf, or Protector of the Arab nation. This is evidently an error, as there is no difference in oriental writers with regard to the origin of the appellation given to Shahpoor.

[m] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

his disgraces and injuries on the Roman emperor, who, according to this romance, was taken prisoner when his army was defeated, and only released after ten years' close confinement. During this period, the captives were compelled to repair the injury they had done in Persia, even to replanting the smallest trees which they had destroyed.

These fables refer to the success of the Persians during the reign of Constantius; and their authors inform us, that, after the return of the Roman emperor to his own territories, a person descended from the great Constantine took possession of his throne, and assembled a numerous army to attack Persia. The Arab tribes, they add, eager for revenge, readily joined the Romans; and their united force amounted to an hundred and seventy thousand men[n]. Shahpoor declined meeting this formidable army at the frontier, sensible that, if he suffered a defeat, as their overwhelming numbers rendered probable, he should be ruined. He retreated to one of the interior provinces; and, collecting all the force he could, advanced to give battle. After a dreadful conflict[o], in which he made the greatest personal efforts, his army was routed with immense slaughter, and Shahpoor himself barely saved his life by flying with a few followers. He soon however recruited his army, and recommenced operations; he was encouraged by the retreat of his victorious enemy, in pursuit of whom he advanced into the Roman territory, and sent ambassadors to the emperor with the following message[p]: "I have re-assembled my numerous army. I am resolved to avenge my

[n] The great army here alluded to was commanded by the celebrated Emperor Julian; the particulars of whose success and death are not noticed by Persian historians. Indeed they do not even mention the famous battle of Singarah, in which Shahpoor gained his greatest victory over the Roman Emperor Constantius.

[o] The author of the Rozut-ul-Suffa says, that the particulars of this action will remain engraven on the page of time till the day of judgment. He leaves his readers to consult that page about all particulars, limiting himself to the mere mention of the defeat.

[p] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

subjects, who have been plundered, made captives, and slain. It is for this that I have bared my arm and girded my loins. If you consent to pay the price[q] of the blood which has been shed, to deliver up the booty which has been plundered, and to restore the city of Nisibis, which is in Irak[r], and belongs to our empire, though now in your possession, I will sheath the sword of war; but should you refuse these terms, the hoofs of my horse, which are hard as steel, shall efface the name of the Romans[s] from the earth: and my glorious scimitar, that destroys like fire, shall exterminate the people of your empire." According to Persian history, this proud and insulting message had the desired effect. The alarmed Emperor of Constantinople agreed to the terms prescribed; and the famous city of Nisibis[t] was delivered over to Shahpoor, who immediately sent a colony of twelve thousand men, drawn from Fars and Irak, to inhabit it, and to cultivate the lands in its vicinity[u]. Such is the account which Persian authors give of the expedition of the celebrated Julian. The great victory which they ascribe to him, must allude to his passage of the Tigris, and the action near the walls of Ctesiphon. They relate with fairness and truth the conduct which Shahpoor adopted. The usual process of laying waste the country, and harassing

[q] This practice of paying the price of blood for the murdered, is coeval with the earliest traditions of barbarous nations; and it is a natural demand from an arrogant and powerful monarch to an alarmed enemy.

[r] Irak is divided into two great provinces, Irak-e-Ajum and Irak-e-Arab; the Irak of Persia and Arabia. Nisibis belonged to the latter.

[s] Sometimes called Grecians.

[t] By the ignominious treaty of Durah, concluded by the Emperor Jovian, after the death of Julian. The five provinces to the east of the Tigris, which Narsi had granted to the Romans, were restored. Nisibis, which had often resisted his arms, was given up, and its inhabitants forced to remove from the city and its surrounding country, to make way for a Persian colony. The greater part of Mesopotamia became a province of Persia. The Prince of Armenia was abandoned; and almost all the advantages obtained from the victory of Galerius, and the peace concluded by that emperor and Diocletian, were relinquished.

[u] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

the enemy by predatory attacks, was resorted to with success. The retreat of Julian is mentioned, but not his death; but this silence may be easily accounted for. It was a diminution of Shahpoor's glory to refer his triumph to any cause but his own wisdom and valour.

The reign of Shahpoor, according to some Persian historians[1], was a few months longer than his life; he died at seventy-one. Others state that he was not crowned till he was born, and that the crown was then suspended over his infant head. This difference is of little consequence: there is no difficulty in giving credit to either account. Those loyal and virtuous considerations which led the Persian nobles to preserve their country from the troubles of a disputed succession, must have induced them to give their resolution all the sanction it could receive from the strictest observance of outward forms; and when we consider their conduct in this light, their obedience to the unborn Shahpoor, after their priests had satisfied them that the embryo would be a male, appears as rational and praiseworthy as if granted to an infant. The same wisdom which led them to preserve the crown for Shahpoor, prompted them to give him an education worthy of his rank; and no history affords an example of loyal care better rewarded. Shahpoor seems to have been all that his subjects could desire. During his long reign he raised his country to the greatest prosperity; having defeated all his enemies, and extended the empire in every direction. His success against the Romans is the part of his history of which his countrymen are with justice proudest. He not only obtained possession of the impregnable Nisibis, and recovered a great part of Mesopotamia and the five provinces on the western frontier which his ancestors had lost; but he reduced Armenia from an independent principality, which had always been supported by the Romans, to be a province of his empire. In effecting the latter object, he is accused of

[1] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

having had recourse to treachery [y]; but this, even if true, would little diminish his glory with his own subjects or their posterity.

Shahpoor appears to have been alike remarkable for wisdom, valour, and military conduct. Some of his observations have been preserved, which show great knowledge of the human mind. "Words," he used to say, "may be more vivifying than the showers of spring, and sharper than the sword of destruction. The point of a lance may be withdrawn from the body, but a cruel word can never be extracted from the heart it has once wounded [z]."

Ardisheer the Second [a] succeeded Shahpoor. We are informed by some authors that he was the son of Hoormuz, and consequently the brother of the deceased monarch. But this descent [b] is at variance with those extraordinary facts relative to Shahpoor's succession, in which all eastern historians are agreed. Ardisheer sat upon the throne of Persia only four years; during which period no event of consequence occurred. He was deposed by Shahpoor [c], the son of Shahpoor-Zoolaktaf. This prince, who is described as virtuous and beneficent, reigned over Persia only five years. He was killed by the fall of his tent; the cordage

[y] He is said to have persuaded Tiranus, the King of Armenia, to come to his court; to have seized him at a festival; and to have thrown him into a dungeon, where his life soon terminated.—GIBBON, vol. iv. p. 312.

[z] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[a] Artaxerxes the Second. He succeeded to the throne of Persia in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.

[b] The author of the Tuarikh Tubree gives countenance to this descent of Ardisheer; but reconciles it with the undisputed facts connected with Shahpoor's elevation, by stating that Hoormuz disinherited Ardisheer, who was his first born, in favour of the unborn Shahpoor, and that the nobles attended to his will. But this is improbable. Other authors say, Ardisheer was an uterine brother of Shahpoor the Second; and was never raised to the throne of Persia, but was regent of the kingdom until his nephew came of age.

[c] Sapor the Third of Roman historians. He also succeeded to the throne during the reign of Theodosius.

was broken by a whirlwind [d], and the pole struck the monarch as he slept. Shahpoor was succeeded by his brother, Baharam the Fourth [e], distinguished from other princes of the same name, by his title of Kermanshah, which he received from having, during the reign of his brother, been ruler of the province of Kerman [f]; and he perpetuated it by founding the city of Kermanshah, which is now a large and prosperous town, and the capital of a division of Persia. Within five miles of this town is the fine sculpture of Tak-e-Bostan, which will be hereafter noticed. The inscriptions [g] leave no doubt that it was made by order of Baharam, who desired to perpetuate his own name [h], and that of his glorious father. He reigned, according to some accounts [i], eleven years; according to others [k], fifteen. He was killed by an arrow, when endeavouring to quell a tumult in his army.

The throne of Persia was next filled by Yezdijird-Ulathim, or the Sinner, whom some authors call the brother, others the son, of Baharam. This monarch is represented by Persian authors [l] to have been a cruel prince, destitute of virtue and abandoned to luxury: so that the nation rejoiced when he was killed by the kick of a horse, after a reign of sixteen years. He had many children; but none of his sons lived to maturity, except Baharam, whom he

[d] These violent gusts are common in Persia. I have seen a line of tents levelled by their force, and some of them carried to a distance from the spot where they were pitched.

[e] Varanes the Fourth of Roman history.

[f] The ancient Carmania.

[g] These inscriptions have been translated by that learned orientalist, Sylvestre de Sacy.

[h] The name in the inscription is Vararam, or Varaham, which approximates to the Roman Varanes; Baharam is a modern Persian corruption. It is the fashion to exclaim against the misspelling of eastern names by the Greeks and Romans; but we should be more fully acquainted with the ancient languages, before we speak so decidedly.

[i] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

[k] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, &c.

had intrusted[m] to the care of Noman[n], the ruler of all the Arab tribes under the protection of the Persian government.

The character of Yezdijird, the Isdigertes of the Greeks, is very differently given by eastern and western writers: the former represent him as a monster of cruelty, whose death was hailed as a blessing by his subjects; according to the latter he was a wise and virtuous prince. Procopius says, that it was a solitary instance of wisdom in the Emperor Arcadius to leave Yezdijird the protector of his infant son, Theodosius; and that the royal guardian executed his trust with unexampled fidelity. The truth of this is not denied by a Christian writer; who at the same time deems it a crime in Arcadius to have committed such a charge to a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. But we are told by the able historian[o] who records this extraordinary tradition, that it is not confirmed by other writers, and consequently not worthy of credit. Still it proves that the reputation of Yezdijird among western nations was high. Perhaps that very indulgence and toleration which obtained him this fame among strangers, caused his name to be handed down with execration by the bigots[p] of his own country. But even they have preserved some of his sayings, breathing a spirit that contradicts the character they have given of him. Yezdijird, they inform us, often remarked, " That the wisest of monarchs was he who never punished when in rage, and who followed the first impulse of his mind to reward the deserving." He used also to observe, " That whenever a king ceased to do good actions he necessarily committed bad; and that the thoughts of

[m] He was induced to this by the advice of astrologers; who said it was the only mode in which the life of the young prince could be preserved.

[n] The son of Omar-ul-Kais.

[o] Gibbon, vol. v. p. 413.

[p] I have repeatedly stated, that the first historians, or rather preservers of traditions, in ancient Persia, as in all other rude nations, were the priesthood; and we must read their accounts, with allowance for the prejudices which their occupation was likely to inspire.

eternity could not for a moment be absent from the mind, without its verging towards sin."

At the death of Yezdijird, there appear to have been some obstacles to the succession of Baharam. The luxurious nobles of the court of Madain dreaded a monarch educated among Arabs, who they conceived might have acquired habits opposite to those of his country. Under this impression they raised Khoosroo, another prince of the royal family, to the throne; but their proceeding only afforded to the true heir an opportunity of showing his courage[q] and magnanimity; and Baharam obtained his right almost without a struggle.

Baharam the Fifth[r] is known in Persian history by the name of Baharam-Gour. Gour signifies a wild ass; an animal to the chase of which this monarch was devoted. His first act was to reward Noman, who had educated him: his second, to pardon those who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. Such gratitude and clemency disposed the hearts of all towards this prince; and his future conduct well deserved their affection. His munificence, his virtue, and his valour, are the theme of every historian. His generosity was not limited to his court or capital, but extended over all his dominions: no merit went unrewarded; and it is related, so unbounded was his liberality, that his ministers, dreading the effects of its excess, presented a memorial to him, pointing out how essential the possession of treasure was to support the dignity and power of a sovereign. Ba-

[q] According to Persian historians, or rather fabulists, he advanced into Persia with a large army of Arabs; but to save the blood of his countrymen, he proposed, that the crown should be placed between two furious lions, and should belong to the prince who had the courage to attack such guards. This was agreed to; and Khoosroo, the prince whom the nobles had elevated to the throne, was invited to the achievement; but the situation in which he saw the crown placed, deprived it of all its attractions in his eyes, and he declined the attempt. Baharam flew at the lions; and, though almost unarmed, soon slew both, and seized the crown, amid the shouts of his subjects.

[r] Varanes the Fifth of Roman history. Some authors call him the Sixth.

haram wrote under this representation: "If I may not employ benefits and rewards to gain the hearts of free men who render me their obedience, let the framers of this memorial inform me what means I am to use for attaching such persons to my government[s]." Under this sovereign, whose reign spread joy, minstrels and musicians were first introduced into Persia. Baharam, we are told[t], observed a merry troop of his subjects dancing without music: he inquired the cause: "We have sent every where, and offered," said one of them, "a hundred pieces of gold for a musician[u], but in vain." The king sent to India for musicians and singers; and twelve thousand were encouraged by his munificence to enter his dominions.

An impression was produced among foreign powers, by the conduct of Baharam in this and similar instances, that the king and his subjects were immersed in luxury; and that the love of the dance and song had superseded that martial spirit, which had so lately rendered Persia the terror of surrounding nations. The khan of the tribes of Transoxania was the first who presumed to act under this impression: he crossed the Oxus at the head of twenty-five thousand men[x], and laid waste the whole of Khorassan. This invasion spread a dismay, soon greatly increased by the disappearance of Baharam, who, it was concluded, had fled, from a sense of his inability to meet the impending storm. The result was the universal terror of the Persians, and the unguarded confidence of the Tartars, whose sovereign thought the war was over, and that he had only to receive the submission of the Persian chiefs, daily crowding to his

[s] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[t] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[u] There were, no doubt, always a few of this class in Persia: since the days of Baharam they have abounded. The dancing and singing girls in Persia are called Kaoulee, a corruption of Cabulee, or "of Cabul;" which shows the quarter whence they came.

[x] Rozut-ul-Suffa. The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh makes the number two hundred and fifty thousand. I have followed the most moderate and probable statement.

standard and imploring his favour and protection. But his dream of success was short. His camp one dark night was suddenly attacked and completely surprised[y]. The lost Baharam, at the head of seven thousand[z] of the bravest warriors of Persia, advanced against his enemies: upon the neck of every horse was a dried skin filled with small stones, which the rider rattled as he rushed to the charge: this astonishing and strange noise did not merely terrify the Tartars; their horses partook in the alarm of their masters, and the whole camp fled in affright and confusion. The slaughter was great; the chief of the enemy fell under the sword of Baharam, who pursued the fugitives across the Oxus[a]. The use he made of so great a victory, was to establish peace with all his neighbours[b]: after this was concluded, he returned to his capital.

The Persians recount a long tale about the adventures of Baharam in India; into which country he travelled in disguise, leaving his subjects under the rule of his wise minister, Meher-Narsi; but such romances hardly deserve to be noticed. After his return from India, according to the same authorities, he was very successful in some incursions into the Arabian and Roman territories; and these flatterers assert, that he carried his arms to the vicinity of Constantinople; but we know that the contest between Baharam and Theodosius was attended with no success of any consequence to either. It ended in a truce for a hun-

[y] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[z] Some authors state the number with the king as much smaller. I follow the most probable account.

[a] This glorious exploit of Baharam is related in various ways by eastern writers. According to one, he did not conceal himself; but, making over the kingdom to his brother, Narsi, marched toward Aderbijan with a small body; a measure which persuaded the Tartars, and his own subjects, that he had fled. He afterwards returned by secret roads to surprise the enemy. If we believe some authors, this action did not take place at Khorassan, but at Rhè. These are immaterial points. The substance of what has been stated is confirmed by every historian.

[b] He is said to have erected a column on the banks of the Oxus, to mark the boundary of the Persian empire.

dred years. This war, says the eloquent historian of the Roman empire, "though only remarkable for failures, and alike inglorious to the arms of both the Romans and Persians, was immortalized by the conduct of Acacius, Bishop of Amida. That truly Christian prelate, boldly declaring, that vases of gold and silver were useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, sold the plate of his church, employed the money it produced in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives, supplied their wants with affectionate liberality, and dismissed them to their native country, to inform Baharam of the true spirit of that religion which he persecuted."

The ruling passion of Baharam was the love of the chase. His favourite game was the gour, or wild ass, an animal at once strong and fleet; and it was in pursuit of one of these that he lost his life; having suddenly come upon a deep pool, his horse plunged into it, and neither he nor his rider were ever seen again. This accident happened in a fine valley[c] between Shiraz and Isfahan, which is to this day

[c] In 1810 I visited the ruins of one of Baharam's hunting-seats; and there I heard the following story about his skill as an archer, and the occasion of this palace being built:—

Baharam, proud of his excellence as an archer, wished to display it before a favourite lady. He carried her to the plain; an antelope was soon found, asleep. The monarch shot an arrow with such precision as to graze its ear. The animal awoke, and put his hind hoof to the ear, to strike off the fly by which he conceived himself annoyed. Another arrow fixed his hoof to his horn. Baharam turned to the lady, in expectation of her praises: she coolly observed, *Neeko kurden z pur kurden est;* "Practice makes perfect." Enraged at this uncourtly observation, the king ordered her to be sent into the mountains to perish. Her life was saved by the mercy of a minister, who allowed her to retire to a small village on the side of a hill. She lodged in an upper room, to which she ascended by twenty steps. On her arrival she bought a small calf, which she carried up and down the stairs every day. This exercise was continued for four years; and the increase of her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Baharam, who had supposed her dead, after a fatiguing chase stopped one evening at this village. He saw a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished, and sent to inquire how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a person of so delicate a form. The lady

called the vale of heroes; having been, on account of its fine pasture and abundant game, the favourite resort, from the earliest ages, of the kings and nobles of Persia. The whole valley abounds in springs; some are very large and of great depth: their sources are supposed to communicate. It is not surprising, therefore, that the body of Baharam was never found, although every search[d] was made by his inconsolable mother.

Baharam-Gour was certainly one of the best monarchs who ever ruled Persia. During his whole reign, the happiness of his subjects was his sole object. An anecdote is recorded of him, which shows at once his intimate knowledge of human nature, and his regard for the feelings of every class of men in his dominions. He had a son who was considered an idiot[e]: in vain the best masters endeavoured to instruct him: he appeared incapable of receiving their lessons; and hardly a hope was cherished of his improvement. One day his tutor told Baharam, it was with grief he had discovered that the young prince added vice to stupidity: "I have detected him," he said, "in an attempt to seduce the beautiful daughter of a poor man who dwells near his palace." The king's countenance beamed with joy. "Thank God! the clay is kindled!" said he to

said she would communicate her secret to none but Baharam; and to him only on his condescending to come alone to her house. The king instantly went; on his repeating his admiration of what he had seen, she bade him not lavish praises where they were not due: "Practice makes perfect," said she, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifted up her veil. Baharam recognised and embraced his favourite. Pleased with the lesson she had given him, and delighted with the love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem, he ordered a palace to be built on the spot, as a hunting-seat, and a memorial of this event.

[d] When encamped in 1810 near the springs, into one of which Baharam plunged, being aware of their dangerous nature, I directed that none of my escort should bathe. This order was unfortunately disobeyed by a young man of the 17th dragoons; and though reported a good swimmer, he was drowned: his body was recovered, being near the edge. The spring in which he lost his life, we were told, was the same into which Baharam had fallen.

[e] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

himself. He immediately sent for the girl's father, and addressed him in the following words: "I wish not to trifle with your honour, or with that of any man in my kingdom; but your daughter may become the instrument of a nation's happiness. My son loves her; her power over him is therefore unbounded; bid her use it to awaken in him the desire of attaining perfection, that he may please her: she may, without danger to herself, give him encouragement enough to keep hope alive, and love will do the rest." The old man promised to lesson his daughter, who played her part to admiration: the enamoured prince soon became all his father or the nation could wish; and was as remarkable for spirit and intelligence, as he had been for dulness and insensibility[f].

Baharam ruled Persia eighteen years. He seems through life to have preserved the virtues and habits impressed upon his mind by the precepts and example of the Arabian chief who educated him[g]. His government was more simple and patriarchal than that of any Persian monarch. Like a true Arab, he was devoted to the chase, and delighted in a wandering life; and this disposition gave rise to the romance of his visit to India, which appears an improbable fable[h].

Baharam was succeeded by his son, Yezdijird the Second[i], a wise and brave prince, who took the best means of insuring the prosperity of his empire, by retaining the favourite ministers and officers of his father. During his whole reign, which lasted eighteen years, Persian historians notice only one war in which he was engaged with the Romans. The Emperor of Constantinople had departed from the alliance

[f] This has a remarkable resemblance to the tale of Cymon and Iphigenia, told by our great poet, Dryden.

[g] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[h] The authors of the Ancient History have related this romance in their life of Baharam.

[i] Isdigertes the Second of the Romans. He ascended the throne during the reign of Theodosius the younger.

formed with Baharam, and ceased to pay tribute: but when the great army sent by Yezdijird under his able minister, Meher-Narsi, had made a few marches into the Roman territories, the emperor[k] agreed to fulfil all the conditions of the former treaty. This prince is distinguished from others of the same name by his title of Sipahdost, or the Soldier's Friend; a term which well manifests the impression entertained of his character.

Hoormuz, the younger son of Yezdijird, succeeded his father, of whom he was always the favourite. His elder brother, Firoze, had been appointed to a distant government, with a view of facilitating the project of leaving the throne to Hoormuz, who, on his father's death, was supported by the principal lords of the empire: but his brother, though at first compelled to fly across the Oxus, soon returned to assert his right at the head of a large army, formed of the warlike tribes from that quarter.

Before this contest and the events to which it gave rise, are related, it will be useful to say a few words on the name and character of those tribes who at this period inhabited the great tract of country between the Oxus and Jaxartes. They received from the ancients the general name of Scythians, and are now known to Europeans under that of Tartars[l]. Although this country has been subject to a succession of warlike tribes, they have probably all been derived from one stock; for, though known under many names, their habits and character have always been the same. The Scythians of the Greeks differ in nothing essential from the Tartars of modern history. Before the time of Alexander, Transoxania was inhabited by a nation known under the generic name of Sacæ; of which the Getæ and Massagetæ[m] were powerful tribes. The appellation given in the history of ancient

[k] Western writers do not notice this event; and the fact is not likely to be correct.

[l] This term is derived from Tatar, the name of a tribe; which, we are told by Abdul Ghazi, consisted of seventy thousand families.

[m] The celebrated Afrasiab was probably the monarch of these tribes.

Persia to the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, is Turan; but oriental authors mention no particular tribes at this period: all who dwelt beyond the limits of Turan, to the east and north-east, were considered as belonging to Cheen and Khatai; which names may be generally understood to designate the large tract known in modern geography as Chinese Tartary.

From the earliest ages to the present, the nomads or pastoral tribes of this country have been continually changing: they have in their turn subdued others, and been conquered themselves. We find them sometimes improving and extending their dominions: at others, compelled to leave their pasture lands to fiercer and more numerous hordes; and forming, as they proceed into the fertile plains of southern Asia or of Europe, part of that great tide of violence and rapine[n], which, rising near the Frozen Ocean, rolled, before its destructive waves subsided, to the farthest bounds of the Indian Sea, and the remotest shores of the Atlantic.

But this picture, however just of a part of the inhabitants of Tartary, can never have applied to the whole. It represents the progress of great tribes who occupied the plains, and in turn gave sovereigns to this vast country. There can, however, be no doubt that many races of men, unable to defend the level country against invaders, took refuge in the lofty and inaccessible mountains with which Tartary is every where intersected; and some of these have continued for generations to maintain inviolate their original language and

[n] The progress of the Tartar hordes is finely described in Scripture. Ezekiel, prophesying of Gog and his people, says:—

"Thou shalt ascend, and come like a storm; thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land; thou, and all thy bands, and many people, with thee.

"And thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwalled villages; I will go to them that are at rest, that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates.

"And thou shalt come from thy place, out of the north parts, thou, and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company, and a mighty army."

usages*. Other inhabitants of this great region, devoted to the peaceful arts of husbandry and trade, must have been preserved, by the character of their occupations, from those violent changes to which the martial tribes were exposed; and the modern distinction between Turk and Taujeck, that is, literally, between men of military and civil pursuits, has, we may safely conclude, existed from the earliest ages in Tartary.

We learn from European historians, that the White Huns, who were called Hiatilla, but who were a tribe of Tartars from plains near the north wall of China, made themselves masters of Transoxania about the time of which we are writing. It is remarkable, that some of the most respectable oriental authors discontinue, henceforward, to use the name Turan in speaking of this country. They now call it Turkestan, and its inhabitants Turks; and they describe this race sometimes as coming from beyond the Jaxartes, at others, from China. But the oriental historians who write of ancient Persia, though often correct in general facts, have as little minute knowledge of dates as of geography; and they have evidently anticipated the irruption of those Turkish tribes, who some years afterwards expelled the Hiatilla, or White Huns, from the lands taken by the latter from the Sacæ, or Scythians. There is ground to conclude, that it was an army of the Hiatilla which invaded Persia under Baharam-Gour; and it was to one of their kings that Firoze fled, to escape the effects of that combination, which his brother and the chief nobles had entered into, for excluding him from the throne. The name of the Tartar prince, according to some Mahomedan

* Russian travellers have discovered many of these races, who are quite distinct in their manners from the modern Tartars and Turks, and who have also different languages. Ignorance delights in general descriptions; but such, when applied to a vast empire, can never be true. It is a common fault of historians, to be desirous of always giving finished pictures of nations; but such must often be like finished maps of unsurveyed regions, only calculated to mislead.

authors, was Khoosh-Nuaz; but this appellation, which may be interpreted "The Bountiful Monarch," was probably only given to denote his kindness and liberality. Ferdosi calls him Faganish and Khakan. The latter is the title assumed by the sovereigns of the great tribes of Turks, who afterwards expelled the Hiatilla or Huns from Transoxania. Khoosh-Nuaz (for I shall give him the name which his generous character so well merited) espoused the cause of the exiled Firoze, and supported him with an army of thirty thousand troops: aided by the general defection of the Persians, who deserted his weak brother, they obtained an easy victory; and the unfortunate Hoormuz, after a reign of little more than a year, was dethroned and put to death.

Firoze [p] (the Peroses of the Greeks) soon evinced a disposition which gave all his supporters reason to regret their success; and to a superstitious age, a dreadful drought [q] of seven years, which occurred after his elevation, appeared as a punishment from Heaven for the crime of acting contrary to the will of the virtuous Yezdijird. Other historians, more favourable to Firoze, state that, after putting to death Hoormuz and some officers of rank, (acts essential to secure the throne,) he showed great clemency and justice; and that, during the dreadful famine which ensued, his parental care of his subjects alone saved them from total destruction; for, according to them, his pious and incessant prayers had the effect of producing that rain which restored abundance to the exhausted kingdom. But it is from actions that we must form our opinions of characters; and those of Firoze do not lead us to credit such partial accounts. The great object of his life appears to have been, to destroy the power of the generous monarch to whom he owed his throne. He pretended to discover [r], from the evidence of some Tartar

[p] This name is pronounced Piroz in Pehlivi.

[q] This drought, according to the Tubree, was so excessive, that not even the appearance of moisture was left in the beds of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

[r] This is the reason assigned in the Rozut-ul-Suffa.

exiles, that their king was a tyrant; and with the pretext of relieving his subjects from his oppressive yoke, assembled a large force to invade Tartary. Khoosh-Nuaz, too weak to oppose the Persian army, retreated as it advanced; but he was soon enabled, by the noble devotion of one of his chief officers, not only to preserve his country, but to retaliate on his enemies that ruin with which he was threatened. This officer, after communicating the plan he had formed, entreated his prince to order some of his limbs to be cut off, and his body to be otherwise mangled*, and then cast in a part of the road where he was likely to be found by the Persian soldiers. It was done: he was taken up and carried to Firoze. "Who has reduced you to this sad condition?" said the king. "That cruel tyrant, Khoosh-Nuaz," was the answer. "And for what?" "Because I took the liberty of an old and faithful servant, to represent the consequences of his bad government, and to tell him how unequal he was to meet the valiant troops of Persia, conducted by such a hero as Firoze. But I will be revenged," he added, as he writhed with pain; "I will lead you by a short route, where you shall in a few days intercept the tyrant's retreat, defeat his disaffected army, and rid the world of a monster." His situation, his words, and his apparent agony, left no doubt as to his sincerity. The Persian army marched according to his directions: it was not till they had been several days without water and food, and saw themselves surrounded by enemies whom they could not hope to escape, that they discovered they had been led to ruin, and that the conquest over them had been effected by the art and courage of one patriotic hero, who had courted death in its most appalling form, to attain the glorious title of "The Preserver of his Country."

The greatest part of the Persian army perished in this

* One hand, one foot, his nose, and ears, were cut off.—*Rozut-ul-Suffa.* The reader of Herodotus will call to mind the similar act of Zopyrus, B. iii. c. 154.

desert; and Firoze was only permitted to return with the survivors through the clemency of Khoosh-Nuaz, to whom he sent to solicit peace[t]. The Tartar monarch gave the following answer: "After I had loaded you with favours and benefits, after I had furnished you with money and troops to establish you upon the throne of your father, you have, in return for such great obligations, collected an army, at the instance of the most vile and despicable of men, and advanced into my territories for the purpose of destroying me. Fortune has not been propitious to your wishes; you are now reduced to the extreme of distress: nevertheless, if you swear solemnly not to make war upon me again, I will send you back with honour, and grant you my aid, should you require it, to maintain the throne of Persia[u]." Firoze was in no condition to refuse this offer: he took the most solemn oaths; and was not only permitted to return, but received every favour and attention his noble enemy could bestow. But Firoze was tormented by the thought of the degradation he had suffered. The humanity and generosity of his enemy were hateful, as they made his own conduct appear more base and inexcusable. Tortured by such reflections, he desired to wipe away his disgrace by the ruin of his benefactor. Disregarding the counsel of all the good men of his court, and the remonstrances of the priests who entreated him to think on the impiety of breaking his oath, he collected an army, delivered over his kingdom to a noble named Sukhvar, and once more crossed the Oxus, resolved to conquer or perish. Khoosh-Nuaz awaited his approach. He had directed that a long and deep trench should be cut in the rear of his army, over which two or three pathways were left; and these, as well as the trench, were covered with light broken twigs and earth, so as to resemble the plain. When Firoze advanced, Khoosh-Nuaz presented on the point of a lance

[t] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[u] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

the treaty to which he had sworn, and exhorted him yet to desist before he destroyed his fame for ever. Firoze, who thought this proceeded from fear, instantly rushed to the attack. The Tartars turned their backs before their enemies reached them, and fled with a rapidity which increased the ardour and courage of the Persians; but the columns of the flying army were carefully led over the few paths left across the deep trench, which received their headlong pursuers. The Tartars instantly rallied, attacked[x] and routed the dispirited remains of the Persians, very few of whom escaped; and their brave[y] but faithless prince lost his life, after a reign of twenty-six[z] years. Khoosh-Nuaz took an immense booty: among the captives was a daughter of Firoze: but this generous ruler of the tribes of Transoxania showed himself every way superior to his enemies; and when Pallas, the son of Firoze, ascended the throne, Khoosh-Nuaz not only sent back his sister, but all the other prisoners.

When Pallas[a] or Palasch succeeded his father, his brother Kobad, who had aspired to the throne, fled toward the territories of the Khakan. We are told that, as he passed Nishapore, he spent a night with a beautiful young lady of that city, and that when he returned four years afterwards, accompanied by a large army, with which the Khakan[b] had

[x] According to Gibbon, this battle took place A.D. 488.

[y] Firoze must have been remarkable for his courage, as he is called, in Persian history, Firoze Murdanah, or Firoze the Courageous, or Manly.

[z] Some authors give him only twenty-one.

[a] The Valens of Roman history. This is the same name which occurs in the Parthian dynasty, and is called Vologeses by the Romans. Pallas lived in the reign of the Emperor Zeno.

[b] This Khakan was the same Khoosh-Nuaz to whom Firoze had fled. Ferdosi says, Kobad was taken prisoner in the action in which his father lost his life; and that the Governor of Zabulistan, Suffrai, collected an immense army, and marched against Khoosh-Nuaz; a battle ensued, succeeded by negotiations, by which Khoosh-Nuaz gave up Kobad. Suffrai placed him on the throne, and deposed Pallas after a reign of four years. But the Greek writers are probably right, who state that Pallas was the brother of Firoze, and left by him as regent in his absence.

furnished him, she presented him with a fine boy, the fruit of their casual amour. He was delighted with the appearance of the child; but while he was contemplating him, he received accounts that his brother Pallas was no more, and that the crown of Persia awaited his acceptance. This intelligence at such a moment made the superstitious prince conclude that fortune already smiled on his son, whom, from that day, he treated with the greatest favour and distinction. He gave the infant prince the name of Nousheerwan; and in this case, as in many others, the belief of a good omen aided to produce its fulfilment. No events of consequence occurred during the reign of Pallas, which lasted four years. His name is not even mentioned by some historians of this dynasty.

Although Kobad[c] succeeded to the crown, all affairs continued to be managed by Soukra[d] or Sukhvar, his minister, who had made Pallas a mere pageant. He desired that Kobad should be the same: but that prince became impatient of restraint; and, irritated by the open neglect with which he was treated, secretly prevailed upon Shahpoor, the commander of his forces, to destroy Soukra.

The religious impostor, Mazdak[e], began to propagate his creed in the tenth year of Kobad's reign. The most alluring tenet of this new religion was, the community of females and of property; a popular doctrine, which brought numerous converts. He argued, that, as every thing animate and inanimate belongs to God, it is impious in man to claim or appropriate to himself the property of his Creator, which, as such, is destined for the common use of all human beings. Mazdak forbade the use of flesh; and, clothed in coarse woollen and devoted to prayer, gave in his own person an example of an abstemious and pious life.

[c] The Cabades of the Greeks.

[d] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[e] He was a native of Istakhr, or Persepolis. He is sometimes called Mozdek.

This impostor would probably have shared the fate of many others, and perished without a place in history, had he not, by a pretended miracle, obtained a victory over the weak mind of Kobad, who became his zealous proselyte. He told that monarch that he did not desire to be received as one sent from heaven until he exhibited some supernatural act that should confirm his mission. Kobad attended him, as he requested, to the temple of fire, and heard and beheld Mazdak hold converse with the sacred flame; for he had so artfully placed a man behind it, that the voice which answered his questions appeared to proceed from the fire itself. Kobad was convinced, and continued through life to believe in the doctrine of Mazdak, whose followers greatly increased during the reign of his royal convert. It is related [f], that the impostor had the insolence to require, that the king should give him the mother of Nousheerwan, in order to prove his sincerity; and that Kobad would have complied, but for the entreaties of the young prince, who prayed, with tears in his eyes, both to his father and Mazdak, that his mother might be saved from the disgrace of such a prostitution. The progress of the new religion introduced complete anarchy; every where the votaries of Mazdak seized the wives, the daughters, and the property of others. The king could not punish them; for their creed was his: but his nobles cherished other sentiments; and they soon saw that their union was essential to their preservation. They combined, seized Kobad, put him in prison, and raised his brother Jamasp to the throne. Their next attempt was to seize Mazdak; but his followers were too numerous, and they found themselves compelled to remain satisfied with what they had done. Kobad did not remain long their prisoner: he was released by the art and address of a beautiful sister [g], who was connected

[f] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[g] It has been said, she prostituted her person to effect this object. This fact is denied or rather eluded by other authors, anxious for the virtue of this sister-wife.

with her brother by other ties than those of kindred. He fled, after his escape from prison, across the Oxus, to the monarch of Tartary, who enabled him to return at the head of an army to assert his rights; and his rebellious subjects, actuated either by repentance or fear, threw themselves on his clemency. This generous but weak monarch forgave all, even his brother Jamasp. After this, he resigned the whole power of government into the hands of Zermihir, the son of Soukra, who had always been his favourite, and had attended him in his first flight to the court of Khoosh-Nuaz.

Kobad carried on a successful war against the Roman Emperor Anastasius; and died after a long and diversified reign of forty-three years. He was the founder of several cities, among which were Burdah and Gunjah. The latter is still a town of importance: it stands on the frontiers of Georgia, and is in the possession of Russia. What a change has the lapse of some centuries produced! The empire of Persia, the great rival of the Romans, now appears unable to resist the tide of civilisation and of conquest, which comes on her, not from that fountain of early knowledge, the East, or the learned West, but from the frozen regions of the North; from a land unknown to her historians, long inhabited by wretched and savage tribes of ignorant barbarians, who, from a combination of powerful causes, the genius of some of their sovereigns, the example of southern Europe, and the influence of a religion which has every where improved the condition of mankind, have overcome all those natural obstacles which opposed their rise, and started, as by magic, into great and imperial power.

It was during the latter years of Kobad's reign, that the Romans built the famous fortified city of Dara, meant by the Emperor Anastasius to be an advanced post of sufficient strength to keep the Persians[h] in check. This for-

[h] See Gibbon, vol. vii. p. 139. He states, that Dara was in Mesopotamia,

tified town was a source of constant jealousy to one empire, and of confidence to the other. Gibbon says, that it answered the object for which it was built during sixty years; but we must determine, before we assent to this, how far its erection provoked those attacks which it so long resisted, and which at last brought ruin not only on it, but on all the Roman towns and territories in its vicinity.

Kobad left several sons; but he appears always to have shown a decided preference for Nousheerwan; and that early sentiment must have every day gained strength, from observing the extraordinary wisdom and goodness of that prince's character. At his death, Kobad bequeathed his kingdom to this favourite son[1]. The testament was committed to the principal mobud or high priest, and read by him to the assembled nobles of the empire, who immediately declared their cheerful submission to the will of their deceased sovereign; but Nousheerwan refused the proffered diadem, on the ground of his inability to reform the great abuses of the government. "All the principal offices," he exclaimed, "are filled by worthless and despicable men; and who, in such days, would make a vain attempt to govern this kingdom according to principles of wisdom and justice. If I do my duty, I must make great changes; the result of these may be bloodshed; my sentiments

fourteen miles from Nisibis, and four days' journey from the Tigris. It had two walls; the interval between was fifty paces wide, and meant for the cattle of the garrison. The fortifications appear to have been like those of the present day; walls or curtains defended by towers. In these last and in the walls were numerous loop-holes and galleries for the besieged. It had ditches, filled at pleasure from a river.

[1] It is related that Kobad made the following affectionate remonstrance to Nousheerwan on what he thought the only defect in his character. "I observe," said he, "every estimable quality united in you; but you have one fault: you judge too severely of others. I desire, my son, you should act according to your own opinions; but I should wish you to think more favourably both of the character and judgment of other men. Depend upon it, more great enterprises are defeated by distrust than by confidence." Nousheerwan thanked his father, and promised amendment: he was true to his promise.—Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

toward many of you would perhaps alter; and families whom I now regard would be ruined. I have no desire to enter into such scenes: they are neither suited to my inclination nor to my character, and I must avoid them[k]." The nobles could not deny the truth of what he said; and convinced for the moment of the necessity of a reform, they took an oath to support him in all his measures, to give implicit obedience to all his orders, and to devote their persons and property to his service, and that of their country.

Satisfied by these assurances, Nousheerwan ascended the throne, and assembled all his court. He then made the following address: "The authority which I derive from my office is established over your persons, not over your hearts: God alone can penetrate into the secret thoughts of men. I desire that you should understand from this, that my vigilance and controul can extend only over your actions, not over your consciences[l]: my judgments shall always be founded on the principles of immutable justice, not on the dictates of my individual will or caprice; and when, by such a proceeding, I shall have remedied the evils which have crept into the administration of the state, the empire will be powerful, and I shall merit the applause of posterity[m]."

The conduct of Nousheerwan was at first correspondent with his professions: but the moment he felt secure in his strength, he resolved to eradicate the baneful schism of Mazdak. The doctrine of this impostor has been already explained. His faith was at variance with the established worship of the kingdom; its fundamental tenet was the annihilation of all property: anarchy was its certain result;

[k] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] This, no doubt, implied his intention to exercise toleration towards the different religions which then distracted the empire; and justifies the opinion, that, in the commencement of his reign, he temporized with the followers of Mazdak.

[m] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

and a monarch like Nousheerwan required not the aid of that resentment which the insult to his mother had kindled, to induce him to adopt all means for the speedy destruction of so dangerous a belief. But the numbers of Mazdak's followers may have compelled him to use artifice; and we cannot altogether reject that account, which represents the just Nousheerwan as having been forced by attention to the safety of the state, to stoop to an unworthy stratagem in order to prevail on the impostor, and a number of his followers, to assemble near his palace, where, instead of meeting with that kind treatment which his promises had led them to expect, they were all put to death[n]: but it is more probable, and much more consonant to the character of this monarch, to credit the relation, that a man complained of his wife having been taken from him by a disciple of Mazdak. The king desired the pretended prophet to command his follower to restore the woman; but the mandate of the earthly monarch was treated with scorn and contempt, when its effect was contrary to what was deemed a sacred precept. Nourshcerwan, enraged at this bold opposition to his authority, ordered the execution of Mazdak, which was followed by the destruction of many of his followers, and the proscription of his delusive and abominable tenets[o].

Nousheerwan was indefatigable in his endeavour to promote the prosperity of his dominions: he ordered all bridges

[n] The ground, where they were ordered to assemble, according to this relation, had been previously cut into deep wells and trenches, into which they were precipitated.

[o] Another account is given in the Tubree of this transaction. It is stated, that Munzer, a prince of Arabia, who had revolted from Kobad, when he embraced the faith of Mazdak, returned to the court of Nousheerwan; who, delighted at the event, said publicly, when both Munzer and Mazdak were present, that he had only two wishes at heart. "One, is accomplished by your return to allegiance: the other is to root out this new faith." Mazdak exclaimed in a passion, "How can you cherish a thought of destroying a religion which so many thousands have embraced?" Nousheerwan, offended at his violence, ordered him to be slain: that act was followed by the death of his followers; and the women, children, and property they had taken, were restored to their owners.—*Tarikh Tubree.*

of every description which had fallen into decay, to be repaired: he directed many new edifices to be built; and we are told by his flattering historians, that every town and village within his kingdom which had been destroyed, was restored and repeopled. He also founded schools[p] and colleges; and gave such encouragement to learned men, that philosophers from Greece resorted to his court[q]. He divided his empire into four great governments: the first comprising Khorassan, Seistan, and Kerman: the second, the lands dependant upon the Cities of Isfahan and Koom; the provinces of Ghelan, Aderbijan, and Armenia: the third, Fars and Ahwaz; and the fourth, Irak, which extended to the frontier of the Roman empire[r]. The most excellent regulations were introduced for the management of these different governments; and every check established that could prevent abuse of power in the officers appointed for their administration: but the vigilance and justice of the monarch were the great source of the prosperity of his territories; and historians have added to his merit, when they have attributed a part of the success and glory of his reign to the extraordinary wisdom of his favourite minister, Abouzurg-a-Mihir[s], who was raised from the lowest station[t] to the first rank in the kingdom, and the minister's virtues and talents have shed a lustre even on those of the great monarch, whose penetration discovered and whose confidence employed them.

[p] The fables of Pilpay were introduced into Persia from India in his reign.

[q] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[r] In this division Isfahan and Koom are separated from Irak to which they belong: Mazenderan is not noticed. It may perhaps, in the beginning of this reign, have been possessed by the Tartars. Irak includes in this account, as in most of those in ancient history, both the Irak-Ajum and Irak-Arab of modern geography.

[s] The Bouzurg-Mihir of the Arabians.

[t] The Persians are too much addicted to the marvellous, to allow a good and great man to attain his level by ordinary means. Abouzurg-a-Mihir was discovered, according to them, when a disciple of a great teacher

The accounts given by eastern and western authors of the successes of Nousheerwan, in his invasions of the Roman empire, differ but very little: some of the former have falsely asserted, that he took an emperor of the Romans prisoner[u]; and they have all, with a partiality which, in national historians writing of this monarch, seems almost excusable, passed over the few reverses which his arms sustained. But the disgraceful peace which Justinian purchased at the commencement of Nousheerwan's reign, the subsequent war, the reduction of all Syria, the capture of Antioch[x], the unopposed progress of the Persian monarch to the shores of the Mediterranean, his conquest of Iberia, Colchis, and the temporary establishment of his power on the banks of the Phasis, and on the shores of the Euxine, are facts not questioned by his enemies. They assert, however, that his genius, as a military leader, even when his fortune was at the highest, was checked by Belisarius, who was twice sent to oppose his progress; and whose success, considering his want of means, and the character of the court he served, was certainly wonderful.

In all the negotiations between the Emperor Justinian

at Merv, or Merou, by an officer of the king, who was travelling in search of some one to interpret a dream of Nousheerwan. This the ambitious disciple offered to do: when carried before the King of Persia, he informed his majesty, that the boar which he had seen in his sleep take the cup of wine he meant to drink from his hand, alluded to a youth who had found his way into the haram. The discovery of the truth of this explanation was only made, by obliging the whole haram to pass his majesty naked. The youth and his mistress were put to death, and Abouzurg-a-Mihir promoted.

[u] This probably has arisen from their confounding his actions with those of Sapor.

[x] The habits of absolute and barbarous monarchs are nearly the same in all ages. Even the just Nousheerwan brought away the inhabitants of Antioch, to settle them on the Tigris. His historians have endeavoured to mitigate this act, by stating, that he built near Ctesiphon a town so exactly like Antioch, of which he had directed a most minute plan to be drawn, that each of the inhabitants of that city, when they reached its counterpart, went as naturally to his own house as if he had never left his native home. —*Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.*

and Nousheerwan, the latter assumed the tone of a superior. His lowest servants[y] were treated at the imperial court in a manner calculated to inflame the pride and raise the insolence of a vain and arrogant nation: and the impressions this conduct must have made, were confirmed by the agreement of the Roman emperor to pay thirty thousand pieces of gold; a sum which could be of no importance to Nousheerwan, but as it showed the monarch of the western world in the rank of his tributaries. In a second war with the Emperors Justin and Tiberius, Nousheerwan, who, though eighty years of age, still led his armies, experienced some reverses; but the perseverance and valour of the aged sovereign were ultimately rewarded by the conquest of Dara, and the plunder of Syria.

During these great successes over the Romans, the empire of Nousheerwan had been equally extended in other quarters. The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana[z], all those to the Indus, some provinces of India, and the finest districts of Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia.

The only insurrection which disturbed the reign of Nousheerwan, was that of his son, Nouschizad. The mother of this prince was a Christian of great beauty, of whom the king was passionately fond: but his entreaties could never induce her to change her religion; and her son, taught by her early lessons, rejected as impious the rites of the Magi, and openly professed his belief in the doctrines of Christ. The contempt which the zealous but incautious youth showed for the religion of his country, enraged his father, who, to punish what he deemed heresy, placed him in confinement.

Some time after, when Nousheerwan was in Syria, he had

[y] A servant of Nousheerwan, below the rank of a Roman magistrate, was allowed to sit at the table of Justinian. If their character is unaltered, and I believe it is, this circumstance was calculated to give the Persians (who judge chiefly from these trifles) a mean opinion of the Roman power.

[z] The native province of Baber; one of the most celebrated eastern monarchs, and founder of the imperial family of Delhi.

an attack of illness, and a report was spread of his death. Deceived by this rumour, Nouschizad effected his escape, released other prisoners, collected a number of followers, of whom many were Christians, and attempted to establish himself in Fars and Ahwaz. Nousheerwan, the moment he heard of his revolt, directed Ram-Burzeen, one of his principal leaders, to march against him. Mirkhond gives the letter of instructions which he sent to that officer. "My son Nouschizad," the monarch wrote, "hearing a rumour that went abroad of my death, has, without waiting for its confirmation, taken up arms: he has released many prisoners: he has expended treasure which I meant to employ against the enemies of the kingdom; and he has taken the field without reflection on the consequences which may result from such a number of Christians acquiring power. If, however, Nouschizad will return to his allegiance, send back the prisoners he has released to their places of confinement, put to death some particular officers and nobles who have espoused his cause, and allow the rest of his followers to disperse and go where they choose, I will consent to pardon him; but should he continue in rebellion, and not submit when he receives this assurance of mercy, Ram-Burzeen is directed not to lose an instant in attacking him. A man of illustrious descent, whose disposition inclines him to evil, should be treated according to his conduct, not his birth. It is a good action to slay a wicked man in arms against the king, who is the sovereign of the earth. Let no fear prevent your cutting the thread of his days: it will be by himself, not by you, that his blood is shed: he flies with ardour to the religion of Cæsar, and turns away his head from our crown.

"But should Nouschizad be made prisoner in action, hurt not a hair of his head: shut him up in the same palace where he was before confined, along with the slaves who attended him. Let him be furnished with all he wants, and allow none of our military officers to use expressions that

can in any degree insult or wound the feelings of a son whom we still hold dear. If any should abuse Nouschizad, let every dagger be pointed at him: first let him lose his tongue, and then his life; for, although that prince has dishonoured his birth, still it is from us that he derives his existence, and our affection continues his security."

There is perhaps more of stern justice and state policy in these orders, than of that affection and goodness which oriental authors delight in attributing to Nousheerwan. His desire that his son should be put to death[a], is thinly veiled by the affected anxiety for his respectful treatment if taken prisoner. His mandate was fully obeyed: Ram-Burzeen brought the prince to action. A few raw levies led by an inexperienced youth were soon defeated by this able general. Nouschizad was slain[b]: his conqueror pretended to mourn over the victory, exclaiming against his bad fortune, in being the unhappy instrument of death to one of the Royal House of Sassan.

Historians have dwelt on the magnificence of the courts which sought the friendship of Nousheerwan. The Emperors of China and India are the most distinguished. Their presents to the sovereign of Persia are described[c] as exceeding in

[a] Nousheerwan is said to have slain two of his brothers. We should reflect seriously upon their situation and duties, before we execrate the memory of the absolute monarchs of Asia for such acts. We must consider, that *their will is to the nations they rule, as the law to better ordered states;* and that, in many cases, the indulgence of natural feeling and clemency would be the extreme of weakness, partiality, and injustice.

[b] He lived long enough, after he received a mortal wound, to request his body might be sent to his mother, that he might have the burial of a Christian.

[c] The Emperor of China sent many presents: amongst them was the image of a panther; the body was covered with pearls, the eyes formed of rubies. He also sent an emerald hilt of a sabre, ornamented with precious stones of immense value: a silken robe, on which was represented a monarch, in the costume of the King of Persia, when clothed in his royal garments, with his crown upon his head, surrounded by his attendants, each holding a cloth of gold in his hand. The border of this wonderful robe was of celestial blue. It was enclosed in a box of gold; containing also a female

curiosity and richness any that were ever seen. Eastern monarchs delight to display their wealth and grandeur in the splendour of their embassies; but this conduct has in general a better motive than vanity. It is from the style of his equipage, the magnificence of his presents, and the personal deportment of an ambassador, that ignorant nations judge of the power and character of the monarch whom he represents; and to this cause we must refer the minute account which every eastern historian deems it his duty to give of the state and appearance, as well as the conduct, of the embassies he describes.

The internal regulations of Nousheerwan were excellent. He established a fixed and moderate land-tax[d] over all his

figure, whose face was veiled by her long tresses; but whose beauty, as it appeared through this veil, was overpowering as a flash of day during a dark night.

The presents from the Emperor of India were equally magnificent. A thousand pounds weight of aloe wood. A vase, formed of one precious stone, and filled with pearls. On one side of this vase was engraven the figure of a lion; on the other, that of a young maiden, seven hands in height. Her eye-lashes fell on her cheeks; and the brilliancy of her eyes, increased by the fairness of her complexion, shone through them like lightning. The Indian monarch also sent to Nousheerwan a carpet, made of a serpent's skin, finer than any silk, and more beautifully speckled by the hand of nature than art could ever imitate.

Mirkhond and other Persian historians dwell with delight on the exaggerated accounts of the presents sent to the greatest of Persian kings.

[d] When he ascended the throne, one of his first measures was to fix the revenue and taxes. He levied a land-tax, or rather a crown share, on cultivated grounds, by the yoke; a term expressing the quantity of land which a yoke of oxen can plough. The tax or crown share was fixed at one dirhem and sixty-four pounds weight in grain per yoke. This assessment was settled by measurement and by register. He also levied a capitation-tax, by which the poorest male paid six dirhems, the richest forty-eight: females were exempt. A tax was laid on fruit trees. Officers were appointed in every village and town to collect these taxes or crown shares; and they were directed to be levied every four months, that is, in three equal payments a year. The system of revenue established by Nousheerwan, was followed by his successor; and according to the Tuarikh-e-Tubree, continued in force during his time, A.H. 302. We derive little information from this general account, which only tells us, that Nousheerwan made some improvement in the system of collecting the revenue.

dominions. He imposed a capitation-tax on Jews and Christians. All persons under twenty and above fifty years of age were exempted from service. The regulations for preserving the discipline of his army were still more strict than those of his civil government; and this great and discerning monarch applauded the courage of one of his inspecting generals, who, armed with great powers, insisted on his sovereign appearing at a review, and refused to register his name as a soldier of Persia, (a title of which Nousheerwan was proud,) because he was deficient in the equipment required by the regulations [e]; he had neglected to bring the case of his bow. But, whatever may be his disposition, and however splendid his talents, one man can effect but little; and, where the rule is absolute, his orders will be evaded, and his confidence betrayed. All the vigilance and justice of Nousheerwan could not prevent corruption and tyranny among the officers of his government. An immense number of jackalls came [f], during the latter years of his reign, from the fields of Tartary into the provinces of Persia, the inhabitants of which were greatly alarmed at the horrid shrieks and screams [g] of their new visiters. Intelligence of this event was sent to court. The king, partaking in the superstition of the age, demanded of the chief mobud or high priest what it portended. The officer gave a reply, which, while it shows him to have been a virtuous courtier [h], satisfies us that Nousheerwan, with all his great qualities, was a despot, to whose ear truth could only be spoken indirectly. "By what I have learnt from

[e] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[f] Rozut-ul-Suffa and Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[g] The screams of jackalls are only heard at night, which renders them more terrific to persons unaccustomed to the noise.

[h] We observe in all oriental histories that able and good ministers are represented as taking advantage of any incident, to convey, in an indirect manner, their advice to their sovereigns. They can only hint at abuses. The cause of this lies more in the condition, than the personal character, of the ruler. A despot, to have sufficient power to govern, must, in a certain degree, be deemed infallible.

the history of former times," said the pontiff, "it is when injustice prevails, that animals of prey spread over a kingdom." Nousheerwan, who well knew what was meant, immediately appointed a secret commission of thirteen persons, in whom he placed complete confidence, and directed them to traverse every province of his vast empire, and bring him a true report on the conduct of the inferior officers of the state. The result of these inquiries, was the discovery of great abuses, and the execution of twenty-four petty governors, convicted of injustice and tyranny[i].

Whatever success attended the endeavours of Nousheerwan to promote the happiness of his subjects, by the establishment of justice, there can be no doubt of his personal love of it. A Roman ambassador, sent to Ctesiphon with rich presents, when admiring the noble prospect from the windows of the royal palace, remarked an uneven piece of ground, and asked the reason why it was not rendered uniform[k]. "It is the property of an old woman," said a Persian noble, "who has objections to sell it, though often requested to do so by our king; and he is more willing to have his prospect spoiled, than to commit violence[l]." "That irregular spot," replied the Roman, "consecrated as it is by justice, appears more beautiful than all the surrounding scene." But it would be endless to repeat the anecdotes[m] preserved of Nousheerwan, who may certainly be considered as the greatest of Asiatic monarchs. The title of good and

[i] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[k] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

[l] Nousheerwan was wont to give the following curious account of the sense of justice first springing up in his mind. "I one day, when a youth, saw a man on foot throw a stone at a dog, and break the animal's leg; a moment afterwards a horse passed, and with a kick broke the man's leg; and this animal had only galloped a short distance, when its foot sunk in a hole, and its leg was broken. I gazed with wonder and awe, and have since feared to commit injustice."—*Persian MSS.*

[m] He used to say, "That man was the greatest, who was least dependant on worldly means for his enjoyments."

just[n] cannot perhaps be given to any human being placed in such a situation, and in such an age; for, whatever may be his disposition, the monarch, whose will is law, who is compelled to repress rebellion, to retaliate attack, and to attain power over foreign nations in order to preserve his own in peace, must commit many actions at variance with humanity and justice; but, if we are to deny the claim of Noursheewan to those attributes with which eastern historians have clothed him, we must admit that his reign was glorious for his country; that he displayed, during a life protracted for more than eighty years, and a reign of forty-eight, all those great qualities which, by the concurring opinion of mankind, have given fame to their possessors; and above all, that he was to the last hour of his life unconquered by prosperity. His firm and noble character resisted the influence of that luxury by which he was courted: he neither gave himself up to indulgence, nor permitted it in others; and the aged monarch was seen, shortly before his death, leading his troops to the attack of Dara, with as active and ardent a spirit as he had shown in his earliest enterprises.

The history of the world affords many instances of a brilliant reign preceding the fall of a great and powerful dynasty; and that gleam of splendour, which a nation has hailed as the meridian of its fortunes, has too often proved the last ray of its expiring glory. The reason appears plain: an able absolute ruler, who perceives the progress of decay in the state he governs, fears to adopt such remedies as could alone prevent it: his own condition is unhappily interwoven with the causes that are producing the effect; yet, willing to make some efforts, he hopes to find a remedy for internal weakness in foreign conquest; but, in exact proportion to his success, is the evil increased. He leaves his country with a great name, but with exhausted means:

[n] Mahomed, who was born during the reign of Nousheerwan, used to boast of his fortune in being born when so just a king reigned. This is great praise from a source which cannot be suspected of flattery.

to a general spirit of corruption he has only afforded a wider scope of action: while he has multiplied the enemies of his country by the subjugation of other nations; impatient of their condition, they generally find, in the early divisions of his leaders, or the incompetency of his successors, that opportunity of revenge which they so ardently desire. This was the result of all the glory of Nousheerwan, who found Persia hastening to decay, and who adopted the means described to restore her strength. His success was unparalleled; and his great genius preserved, during his own life, the mighty empire he had established. The limits of his dominions were even greater than those claimed for their country by the vanity of Persian geographers. At one period, his mandates were obeyed from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus; from the Red Sea to the Caspian; and from the Euxine to the Jaxartes.

Hoormuz the Third [o] was declared successor to his father, Nousheerwan, as his title was deemed superior to that of the other princes, from the illustrious descent of his mother, the daughter to the Khakan of Tartary. The claims he derived from high birth were supported by an impression of his virtue and talents. His education had been one of the principal cares of his father; his tutor was Abouzurg-a-Mihir [p], the vizier of Nousheerwan. The young prince venerated the teacher of his youth: and, so long as he remained at court, the country prospered; but, when increasing age and infirmities led the virtuous minister to retire, his pupil appeared at once to change his character. Released from that painful restraint which the example of his father and the lessons of his tutor had for a time imposed, he plunged into every excess. All the respectable

[o] Hormisdas the Third of Greek writers.

[p] This minister, who, as before stated, is sometimes called Boozurg-Mihir, has been termed by Gibbon the Seneca of the East. He is said to have invented chess: his ability and fame were such, that the Christians have sought to prove him a Christian; and Mahomedans claim him for their faith, although he lived before the Koran was made public.

officers of government were either removed or put to death, and the administration of affairs committed to low and wicked men, who knew that, while they managed to preserve the favour of their weak and vicious master, they might practise, unpunished, every oppression. The early consequences of this change of rule, were foreign wars and internal rebellion. India and Arabia, which had confessed the paramount power of Nousheerwan, disdained to pay tribute or obedience to his unworthy successor. The Roman army advanced into Mesopotamia; and the hordes of the great Khakan of Tartary crossed the Oxus, and demanded a free passage through Persia, on the pretext of intending to make war on the Emperor of Constantinople. The alarmed Hoormuz at first consented; but their conduct, and the counsel of the wisest men still remaining at his court, soon satisfied him that he had admitted into his kingdom the most dangerous of all enemies[q]. He determined therefore to make an effort to expel them; and was fortunate in his choice of a general, whose person, we are informed, was described in a prophecy[r]. An astrologer had foretold that the Khakan should be slain, and his army dispersed, by a small force commanded by a leader of lofty stature, an open countenance, curled hair, dark complexion, thick and joining eye-brows, a lean body, and an awkward figure. This description so exactly pointed out Baharam, one of the chiefs in the Persian army, that the king could not but select him for the arduous enterprise. Baharam[s] knew the country in which he had to act; and this, com-

[q] The name of the Khakan of Tartary at this period was Saye Shah; he was the maternal uncle of Hoormuz.

[r] Mirkhond. This prophecy was probably made to induce a weak and superstitious monarch to select a brave and experienced officer for the command of his army.

[s] He is generally called Baharam Choubeen, or Baharam the Stick-like; probably from his appearance. He was of high descent: some authors say, of the blood royal. He is called Varanes by Greek writers; but these write Baharam, Varanes, Varanus, and Vararanes. The last is nearest the Pehlivi name, which, I have before stated, is Vararam.

bined with a superstitious belief in the prophecy, led him to limit his force to twelve thousand men. These, however, he took care should be the oldest and best soldiers in Persia. No man in his army was under forty years of age, and none above fifty. Hoormuz entreated his general to increase his numbers[t]; but Baharam replied, that experience had taught him, it was the quality, and not the numbers of soldiers, which gave success; nor was he deceived. In the strong mountainous country[u] where he opposed the Tartars, his hardy veterans gained a complete victory over their numerous but encumbered enemies. The Khakan was slain; and his son, who re-assembled his defeated army, met, in a second action, the same fate as his father. It is stated by several authors[x], that the latter was not slain, but sent prisoner to Madain, with all the booty and treasure taken from the Tartars. Though the spoil was immense, an insidious courtier represented to Hoormuz, that it was but a small proportion of what had been actually taken[y]. The prince listened to these insinuations; full of envy and alarm at the great success of Baharam, he learnt with satisfaction that his general had met with a reverse[z], in a subsequent action with the Roman army. Conceiving this gave him the opportunity he desired, to disgrace and ruin a chief whose reputation was his crime, he sent him a suit of female apparel[a], a distaff, and a spindle. The rough soldier put on the

[t] Some authors state, that a larger army could not be assembled, and that the general, to prevent an unfavourable impression, pretended he would take no more, as twelve thousand was the fortunate number foretold; but this is improbable.

[u] According to some authors, Baharam fought the Tartars in Mazenderan; others say in Khorassan. It probably was in the mountains where these provinces join.

[x] Mirkhond, &c.

[y] This malicious insinuation is ascribed to Yezdan-Buksh, the favourite of Hoormuz. "The booty sent to you," said Yezdan-Buksh, "is only the ear of the cow."

[z] This reverse is not noticed by Persian historians.

[a] According to some authors, chains and a distaff.—*Rozut-ul-Suffa*, &c.

dress he had received, and presented himself to his army, "Behold," said he, "the reward with which the monarch I serve has deigned to crown my services." The burst of indignation was general; the soldiers hailed Baharam their sovereign, and called upon him to lead them against the despicable wretch, who had dared from his luxurious palace to cast so insufferable an insult on the brave defender of his country. Baharam felt too great indignation at the conduct of the court, to think of repressing the violence of his troops. But, whatever hopes he might have formed, his prudence forbade an immediate declaration of an intention to overthrow the power of the House of Sassan. He commanded, therefore, that money should be struck in the name of Khoosroo Purveez, the son of Hoormuz. This measure both veiled his ambition and caused dissensions in the royal family. Khoosroo fled, to escape the danger to which he saw himself exposed, from the suspicions which the conduct of Baharam had excited in his father. The king, after his son's flight, imprisoned two of that prince's maternal uncles[b]; but this act precipitated his ruin. The friends of these nobles not only liberated them from prison, but were sufficiently powerful to confine Hoormuz, whose eyes they put out, to disqualify[c] him for reascending the throne. The moment Khoosroo learnt the fate of his father, he hastened back to the capital; where he no sooner arrived, than he found that Baharam was advancing towards Madain, with an intention of taking the government into his own hands. He collected a force to oppose him, and an action was fought on the banks of the river Nahrwan; but the effeminate troops of the capital, under an inexperienced prince, were unequal to a contest with a veteran army. Khoosroo was defeated, and with great difficulty effected his escape to the territories of the Romans; from whose emperor, Maurice, he met with

[b] Their names were Bundawee and Bostam.

[c] This is the reason given in the East for this horrid act; the practice has been the disgrace of Asiatic countries from the earliest ages.

the most friendly and hospitable reception. At the moment of his flight, one of his uncles[d], resolved that the claims of his nephew should meet with no future obstruction from Hoormuz, went to the prison of that contemptible and unfortunate monarch, and put a period to his existence with a bowstring.

Baharam-Choubeen took possession of the vacant government; but his rule was short, and few historians assign him a place among the kings of Persia. Khoosroo had not been permitted to visit Constantinople[e], but was treated with all the distinction[f] due to his rank; and Maurice gave him the aid of a well-appointed army to restore him to his crown. This enterprise proved easier than was expected. The Persians, though roused to rebellion by the despicable tyranny of Hoormuz, were still attached to their royal family; and young Khoosroo was popular with all ranks. Neither the courage nor the conduct of Baharam could support him in the power he had usurped. Within eight months from his taking possession of Madain, he was defeated by an army of Romans[g] and Persians, commanded by Khoosroo, and fled to Tartary. The Khakan of that country was not withheld by the memory of the great overthrow which the valour of this chief had given to his predecessor, from welcoming and employing him; and Baharam soon attained the highest distinction from his new sovereign; but his days were shortened by poison[h];

[d] Bundawee.

[e] Persian authors erroneously state, that he went to Constantinople and married the Emperor Maurice's daughter. According to some, this princess was the celebrated Shereen. The western writers, whom I have followed, must be more correct on these points.

[f] Gibbon, vol. viii. page 189.

[g] The Romans were not led by a son of Maurice, as Persian authors state; but by Narses, a general of great reputation. He was a Persian by birth; and contemporary with Narses, the eunuch, who was the successor of Belisarius.

[h] He was poisoned, according to Persian authors, by the queen of the Khakan, a relation of Khoosroo, who dreaded the future designs of Baharam.

and one of the ablest warriors Persia ever produced, died an honoured exile, among a nation whose armies he had vanquished, but whose respect for courage and military genius led them to welcome their conqueror, when his misfortunes compelled him to seek their protection.

Khoosroo Purveez, the moment he was firmly established on the throne, fulfilled in the most faithful manner the engagements he had entered into with his ally; and publicly adopted the Emperor Maurice as his father. Dara, and other strong places on the frontier, were surrendered to the Roman emperor, to whom the most costly and magnificent presents were also sent. All the Romans who had aided in restoring Khoosroo to his throne, were treated with marked favour and distinction. But, while that monarch attached those who had supported him, by his munificence, he appeared resolved to strike terror by his severity towards all who had opposed his elevation; and we are shocked to learn that his two uncles, to whom he owed his life and throne, were put to death[i], on the specious but cruel pretext that they had dared to lay violent hands upon the sacred person of his royal father.

The Persian monarch never violated the friendship he had contracted with Maurice; but, when that emperor was slain, he instantly declared war, on the grounds of avenging his father and benefactor. His generals invaded the Roman territories[k]; and a son of Maurice[l] accompanied one of his. In the state to which the empire was then degraded by the rule of the centurion Phocas, who had been advanced to the purple by a despicable faction, and whose authority was hardly acknowledged beyond the walls of his capital, little opposition was made to the sudden and formidable invasion of the Persians. Dara, Edissa, and other strong

[i] Mirkhond.

[k] Rozut-ul-Suffa. According to this work, his army marched in three divisions to attack the Roman territories.

[l] This son, if we believe western authors, was an impostor.

places on the frontier, were soon subdued; Syria was completely pillaged [m], Palestine overrun, Jerusalem taken, and the true Cross, which had been enclosed in a golden case and buried deep in the earth [n], was discovered and borne in triumph to Persia. The historians of that country who give us these details, add, that the sacred relic was attended by a crowd of captive priests and bishops.

While his generals were subduing the Roman empire, Khoosroo was devoted to the enjoyment of unheard-of luxury and magnificence. His noble palaces, of which he built one for every season; his thrones, which were invaluable, particularly that called Takh-dis, formed to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac and the hours of the day; his treasures [o]; his ladies, of whom there were twelve thousand, every one, if we believe the gravest Persian writers, equal to the moon in splendour and beauty; his horses, of which fifty thousand stood in the royal stables; his twelve hundred elephants; his Arabian charger, Shub-Deez, fleeter than the wind; his enchanting musician, Barbud; above all, the incomparable Shereen, with whom

[m] The historian of the Roman empire informs us, that "the conquest of Jerusalem, which had been meditated by Nushirvan, was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson. The ruin," he adds, "of the proudest monument of Christianity was vehemently urged by the intolerant spirit of the magi; and he could enlist, for his holy warfare, an army of six-and-twenty thousand Jews, whose furious bigotry might compensate, in some degree, for their want of valour and discipline. After the reduction of Galilee, and the region beyond the Jordan, whose resistance appears to have delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault. The sepulchre of Christ, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at least damaged by the flames; the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zachariah, and the *true Cross*, were transported into Persia; and the massacre of ninety thousand Christians is imputed to the Jews and Arabs, who swelled the disorder of the Persian march."—GIBBON, vol. viii. page 221.

[n] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

[o] One of these treasures was called *Badawerd*, or "The Gift of the Winds;" because it had been cast upon his territories when conveying to the Roman emperor.

he was distractedly in love; are subjects on which a thousand volumes have been written by his countrymen. Although the magnificence of this prince has been much exaggerated, we may conclude, that no monarch ever lived in greater luxury and splendour. His reign for more than thirty years was marked by a success never surpassed by the most renowned of his ancestors. It was, however, the weakness and distraction of the Roman empire which gave fame to this vain-glorious ruler; who, while his generals were conquering Syria, Nubia, Egypt and Colchis, and occupying, with his victorious troops, a camp at Chalcedon, which for twelve years insulted the fallen fortunes of Constantinople, seemed only to value his conquests as they added to his pleasures. The vast territories which his armies subdued were exhausted, that his palaces and the gorgeous state of his royal person might exceed all that history ever told of kingly grandeur. But Khoosroo, while satiating himself with enjoyment, was destined to become a memorable example of the instability of human happiness and glory. The Mahomedan authors, from whom I write, ascribe the dreadful reverses which marked the latter years of this prince to the indignation of a just God, pouring all the phials of his wrath on the head of a guilty monarch, who had dared, with impious and accursed hands, to tear the letter of the holy prophet Mahomed[p]. Christian authors, with more reason, deem his end a just

[p] Khoosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Karasoo River when he received the letter of Mahomed. Enraged at being called upon by an Arabian, of whose name he had probably never before heard, to renounce the religion of his fathers, he tore the letter, and cast it into the Karasoo. For this action, the moderate author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh calls him a wretch, and rejoices in all his subsequent misfortunes. These impressions still exist. I remarked to a Persian, when encamped near the Karasoo, in 1800, that the banks were very high, which must make it difficult to apply its waters to irrigation. "It once fertilized the whole country," said the zealous Mahomedan: "but its channel sunk with horror from its banks, when that madman, Khoosroo, threw our holy Prophet's letter into its stream; which has ever since been accursed and useless."

punishment for the cruelties and excesses which his armies committed on the Roman territories; but the cause of the rapid decline of his fortune is as obvious as that of its rise. The Emperor Heraclius, alike remarkable for weakness and indulgence in the palace, and for extraordinary valour and military skill in the field, found himself compelled either to abandon the purple, or to make a great effort to defeat his numerous and powerful enemies. His first impulse, we are told, was to escape from a struggle that he dreaded; but the patriarch[q] of his capital arrested his flight, and made him swear at the holy altar to live and die in the defence of his country[r]. The wonderful success with which his resolution was crowned, is fully related by the historians of the West, and not contradicted by those of the East. The sudden invasion of Persia by a Roman[s] army, led by a warlike emperor, awakened Khoosroo from his dream of pleasure: within six years he lost all his foreign conquests; and saw Persia overrun by victorious enemies, who defeated his troops whenever they encountered them, and marched in one direction as far as the Caspian; in another, to Isfahan; destroying in their progress all his splendid palaces, plundering his hoarded treasures, and dispersing the countless slaves of his pleasure. Khoosroo Purveez saw all this without one effort to stop the mighty work of ruin. He fled, at the advance of Heraclius alone[t], and like a deserter, from

[q] Persian authors say, with true national superstition, that he was encouraged to attack Persia by dreams.

[r] Gibbon, vol. viii. page 228.

[s] The Persian king owed much of his success to the aid of the Avars, a tribe of Tartars; who, when driven out of their country by some Turkish hordes, solicited and obtained, from the weak policy of Justinian, leave to feed their flocks within the limits of the empire. To oppose the ravages of these barbarians, Heraclius made an alliance with their conquerors; and a tribe of Turks, termed Khozars, issued, under their chief, Zubil, from the plains of Volga, and joined the emperor in Georgia. This we may pronounce to be the first appearance of a Turkish tribe in Persia.

[t] It is stated by some that he carried Shereen with him. He fled nine days before Heraclius arrived.

his own troops that guarded Dustajird. Yet, even in the wretched state to which his fortune and character had reduced him, he rejected an offer of peace made by the generous humanity of his conqueror. But the subjects of Khoosroo had lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country: a conspiracy was formed against him; and that his cup of misery might be full, he was seized by his eldest son, Schirouehu[u], cast into a dungeon, and soon afterwards put to death[x] by an unnatural prince, who pretended that he was compelled to the parricide[y] by the clamours and importunities of the people and of the nobles.

Khoozroo Purveez reigned thirty-eight years over Persia; and, had he not lived six years too long, he would have been esteemed one of the most fortunate of eastern princes. From his history it appears that, in his youth, he displayed great courage. Mirkhond records several combats fought by him with the most renowned of the rebel chieftains who opposed his elevation to the throne; but, enervated by a

[u] We are informed by Gibbon, (vol. viii. page 254,) that Khoosroo had resolved to place the tiara upon the head of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons; and that Siroes (Schirouehu), indignant at this attempt to put his right of primogeniture aside, conspired with some malcontents to dethrone his father; who was seized, and expired on the fifth day of his confinement. Both Greek and Persian authors, he adds, state, that he was insulted, famished, and tortured by his inhuman and unnatural son, who only enjoyed for eight months the fruit of his crimes. The principal of these facts are stated on the authority of the letter from the Emperor Heraclius.—*Chron. Paschal*, page 398.

[x] It was long before a person could be found to put him to death: at last Hoormuz, the son of Murdou Shah, who had been slain by Khoosroo, offered his services. When Hoormuz appeared, Khoosroo understood what was meant, and exclaimed, "it is just and proper for a son to slay the murderer of his father." After killing the king, Hoormuz went to Schirouehu, and told him all that had passed. "It is just and proper for a son to slay the murderer of his father," repeated the cruel prince, who had employed him, and slew him on the spot.—*Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.*

[y] The fate of Khoosroo has been compared to that of Sennacherib, who, thirteen centuries before, had desolated the land of Judah; and, like him, fell by the hand of a son.

life of luxury and indulgence, he shrunk from the evils by which he was assailed; and by his conduct in his latter years abandoned all title to glory, except such as the memory of his magnificence, and the tale of his extravagant love for the beautiful Shereen, can bestow. That celebrated fair one has been accused of giving those affections, which a monarch so anxiously sought, to the lowly Ferhad[*], in whose breast her beauties kindled such a flame, as deprived him of reason and of life. The son of Khoosroo Purveez sought the favours of this enchanting beauty[a]; who appeared to consent, but desired to take one look at the remains of his father. The murdered body of her former lover was shown to her; and she immediately swallowed a poison[b] which produced instant dissolution. Whatever was her motive; whether horror at the incestuous passion of Schirouch, love for her lost sovereign, or a desire of fame, led Shereen to sacrifice her life at the tomb of Khoosroo, the act has immortalized her name, which is to this day associated in Persia with all that is beautiful and delightful in the female sex.

While Heraclius retired, "after six glorious campaigns, to enjoy the sabbath of his toils at Constantinople[c]," Persia was left to perish under the accumulated evils of a dreadful famine; the disputes of proud and luxurious nobles; a succession of weak sovereigns, or rather pageants of power;

[*] The whole of the sculpture at Beysittoon is ascribed to the chisel of Ferhad. He was promised, we are told in Persian romance, that if he cut through the rock, and brought a stream flowing on the other side of the hill into the valley, the lovely Shereen should be his reward. The same story adds, that he was on the point of completing his labour, when Khoosroo, fearing to lose his mistress, sent an old woman to inform Ferhad that the fair object of his desire was dead. He was at work on one of the highest parts of the rock when he heard the mournful intelligence. He immediately cast himself headlong, and was dashed in pieces.

[a] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

[b] Some authors say she stabbed herself; all agree she put an end to her existence, to escape the love of Schirouch.

[c] Gibbon, vol. viii. page 256.

and the attack of a terrible enemy; for the flame which Mahomed had kindled in Arabia, began already to spread, and to threaten an equal fate to the aged and decayed empires of Rome and Persia.

Schiroueh, the son of Khoosroo Purveez, reigned only eight months. He is described as a prince who paid attention to justice and the laws, by the same author[d] who informs us that he killed his father and fifteen of his brothers; and who adds, that the reproaches which his sisters cast upon him for these acts, threw him into that deep melancholy which terminated his life and reign so early.

On the death of Schiroueh[e], an ambitious noble raised Ardisheer, his infant son, to the throne; but another noble, of the name of Shahryar, disapproving of this measure, marched from the province which he governed, seized Madain, put Ardisheer[f] to death, and usurped the crown, which, however, he held only a few days[g], being slain by the adherents of the royal family[h]. These, not being able to discover any heir male of the house of Sassan, elevated Pooran-dokht, the daughter of Khoosroo Purveez, to the throne. We are told by Persian historians, that this queen restored the sacred cross, which had been borne away from Jerusalem; and by that act acquired great favour with the Roman emperor. But this is evidently erroneous; for there is no doubt that Heraclius, when he returned from Persia, carried to Constantinople that precious relic, which was deemed a more splendid trophy of victory than all his

[d] Rozut-ul-Suffa. This author seems, however, to have some doubts about the murder of his brothers.

[e] The Siroes of Greek writers.

[f] This prince was a child seven years of age; he nominally reigned five months.

[g] The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh does not admit Shahryar into his list of kings. One author allots him a reign of a year; others only forty days; and one gives him only twenty.

[h] Mirkhond.

spoils and conquests. Pooran-dokht[i] ruled Persia only one year and four months. She was succeeded by her cousin and lover, Shah-Shenendeh. He only reigned one month. Nothing is preserved regarding him, but that he had a very large head, and complained, when they were placing the crown upon it, that it was too small; an expression, Mirkhond adds, which indicated his fall; for it was evident the royal tiara would soon be removed from a head to which it gave pain. When Shenendeh was deposed, (for he appears to have been too insignificant to merit death,) Arzem-dokht[k], another daughter of Khoosroo Purveez, was raised to the throne. This princess, alike distinguished by her sense and beauty, resolved to take the whole management of affairs into her own hands. She would not even appoint a vizier. But the fatal passion of a Persian noble defeated all her designs. Ferakh Hoormuz, the Governor of Khorassan, fell violently in love with her; or perhaps with her dominions. He committed the charge of his province to his son, Roostum, and proceeded to court, where he soon contrived to make his love known to his royal mistress; who, though indignant at the discovery, pretended, while she refused her hand, to return his passion, and deluded him into an assignation, where he was murdered by guards stationed for the purpose. The moment his melancholy fate was known to his son Roostum, he collected a large army, and marched from Khorassan[l] to Madain. The queen was unable to oppose him; and the young chief revenged his father by putting her to a cruel death.

The strictest search appears to have been made, after the

[i] She is called Tooran-docht by Greek writers; and this was probably her name.

[k] This princess is also called Azerm-dokht, Azadmi-dokht, Arzeman-dokht, and Zademi-dokht.

[l] Khorassan means the province to the East. Khour signifies the East in Pehlivi. This province lies east of Istakhr, the ancient capital of Persia.

murder of Arzem-dokht, for an heir of the House of Sassan; and as we are told by Persian writers, so extraordinary a regard was shown for the blood royal, that, on a report being spread of Kesra, an inhabitant of Ahwaz, being descended from Ardisheer Babec, he was placed upon the throne. Being found unfit to rule, however, he was soon murdered [m] The next story circulated was, that a prince named Ferokhzad, the son of Khoosroo Purveez by a female singer of Isfahan [n], had fled from the cruelty of Schiroueh to Nisibis, where he then resided. He was sent for, and the highest hopes were entertained from his elevation; but, before he had reigned a month, his days were terminated by poison. Such were the events which immediately preceded the reign of Yezdijird, and the fall of the Persian monarchy. They denote a state of great anarchy; and the elevation of so many puppets, shows that the management of public affairs was, at this period, a subject of contest among the chief nobles, who desired to veil their ambition under the garb of loyalty and attachment to the family of Sassan; while they only raised such creatures to power as they thought would be subservient to their own selfish schemes of aggrandizement.

Many Persian historians [o] take no notice of some of the last-mentioned kings, but pass from Pooran-dokht, the daughter of Khoosroo Purveez, to Yezdijird, son of Shahryar, whom they term a lineal descendant of that monarch. Some [p] state that he was a grandson of Khoosroo, being the son of Shahryar; but that having been banished from court when a child [q], he had long resided at Istakhr as a private person. This prince was probably like others that have

[m] He is not admitted in the list of Persian kings by the author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[n] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[o] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[p] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

[q] He was banished, these authors state, on account of a prophecy, which foretold the fall of the empire under a descendant of Shahryar.

been noticed. He appears to have had no talents for rule; and to have been, from the hour of his elevation to his death, an instrument in the hands of his ambitious nobles.

The reign of Yezdijird[r] has obtained celebrity, from having been that in which the ancient empire of Persia was subverted by a band of naked lizard-eaters; for such was the contemptuous appellation formerly used by their vain neighbours, when they mentioned the tribes of Arabia. No common cause could have produced such a revolution: Persian historians are alike disposed, from superstition and from patriotism, to deem it one of the greatest miracles by which God has manifested the truth of the Mahomedan religion. Those who take a worldly view of this great event, will discover, that a monarchy, like that of Persia, enervated by luxury, distracted by internal divisions, exhausted by foreign wars, and bending to its fall from age and weakness, was ill calculated to resist the enthusiastic robbers of Arabia; who, fired by the double hope of present and future enjoyment, rushed like an overwhelming torrent on the nations around them. But, before the progress of this great work of destruction is narrated, it will be necessary to say a few words on the country, character, and religion, of that extraordinary race by whom it was effected.

Though there are several lofty ranges of mountains in the peninsula of Arabia, the greatest part of that celebrated country consists of level, sandy, and arid plains, which can support but few inhabitants. We may judge of this whole extensive tract by our knowledge of Yemen, or Arabia the Happy. The few cultivated spots, the thinly-scattered groves, and the small though pure streams of this province, could only be deemed delightful by men whose eyes were unaccustomed to vegetation, who seldom found shade to protect them from the scorching rays of a meridian sun, and whose thirst was usually allayed by the brackish water of the desert. The inhabitants of the peninsula are

[r] Isdegertes the Third of the Greeks.

an original and unmixed race. They boast that their country has never been conquered; and we have no record of the whole being subject to a foreign yoke: but the Romans, at one period, possessed a part of Arabia[s]; and Yemen and some adjoining provinces have been often overrun, and at times been tributary to Persia. That the monarchs of that country, and the emperors of Rome, did not pursue their conquests till they subdued the deserts of Arabia, may have arisen from other causes than a dread of the courage of its roving inhabitants. Independence is the certain and just reward of all who consent to a life of privation and hardship. Deserts and mountains have ever been the sanctuaries of the free and brave; and those who are content to inhabit them, are seldom exposed to attack: for ambition, only greedy of wealth and grandeur, could derive little gratification from the possession of a country, where no labour could render the fields fruitful, and no time could make the inhabitants slaves[t].

The Arab is not very robust, but he is well formed and active, and, from habit and education, careless of danger, and insensible to fatigue. His mind is quick rather than intelligent; and his character is at once marked by an extreme of credulity and of enthusiasm. He is allied in all his pleasures and fatigues to the horse and camel of his desert; and these animals[u] appear to have obtained a supe-

[s] The Roman province of Arabia was conquered by Palma, a lieutenant of Trajan. Its capital was Petra; but neither Trajan, nor any of his successors, made any serious progress in their further attempts on this kingdom.

[t] The history of Arabia is anticipated, and the habits and independence of its free and brave, but rude inhabitants, is described in the following verse in the Bible, respecting its founder, Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar:—

"And he will be a wild man: his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."—*Genesis*, chap. vi. verse 12.

[u] The horse of Arabia is unequalled for speed, temper, and bearing fatigue; and it is a very remarkable fact in natural history, that throughout Asia, Africa, and Europe, the best and most valued breed of this noble

riority over their own species, from being elevated into the companions of their masters.

The Arabs in former days worshipped the sun and planets; but they were latterly distracted by a variety of religions: some continued in the faith of their fathers; others adopted the Jewish or Christian tenets. These differences in belief, added to other causes, had long rendered their country a scene of contention and weakness. But the doctrine of Mahomed prevailed almost as soon as it was promulgated; and that extraordinary man lived to see his faith acknowledged over all Arabia. That the religion which he taught contained some of the noblest and most sublime tenets, is as true as that these were taken from the purest of all sources. But it had in its very origin the character of violence; and, while it taught one great, all-powerful, and merciful Creator, and called on the idolatrous Arab to renounce his plurality of gods for a better worship, it offered, as the reward of his conversion and obedience, the complete gratification of all his desires. The goods of this world, and every earthly enjoyment, were the pious prize for the valour of the faithful soldier who drew his sword against infidels; and if he fell, a paradise was provided, and he was promised perpetual youth, amid scenes where palaces of gold and rubies, virgins of never-fading beauty, clear streams, and sweet-scented groves, were to afford him eternal bliss.

This religion, which proclaimed war against the property of all who did not receive it, was well adapted to the principles and habits of those to whom it was first addressed. One of its most remarkable features was the great indulgence which it granted to the strongest of all the sensual passions.

animal is descended from the Arabian stock. The camel and dromedary of the desert are hardly considered by the Arab as inferior to his horse. This patient and powerful animal supplies him with milk for his support, transports his property and family from one quarter of the desert to another; and, when occasion requires, enables him to pursue or fly from his enemies to any distance, with almost incredible speed.

By this indulgence, it enabled those who had wealth or power to confirm if not to establish usages which placed a great portion of the females of the countries where Mahomedanism was introduced, in a condition little above that of slaves, and this alone perpetuated, if it did not create, an insuperable obstacle to the progress of civilization.

This appears to be the general character of that religion by which the enthusiastic Arabs were kindled. Their ardent minds received with delight doctrines, which at once elevated the soul, fired the imagination, and gratified the passions. The zeal and ardour of converts were not likely to seek other causes for the success of their arms, than the divine origin of that faith which they had embraced; and the tenets of Mahomed were calculated to give victory to his followers. The meed of superior piety was the reward of distinguished courage; and in the early days of this religion, the hero alone was deemed worthy of Paradise.

The first attack made by the Arabs on the Persian empire was during the reign of the Caliph Omar, who commanded one of his generals, Abou-Obeyd, to cross the Euphrates. The force employed must have been small, as we find it opposed by two detachments of two thousand men each; one commanded by Jyan, the other by Roostum-Ferokhzad. The Persians were afterwards reinforced by a corps under a general called Jalenous, and took post on the east of the Euphrates, where they were attacked by Abou-Obeyd. The action was furious; but the Arabian chief lost it by his imprudent courage. He observed a white elephant in the centre of the Persian host; and towards this animal, which he deemed the object of their superstition[x], he fought his way with irresistible valour, and with one blow of his scimetar struck off his trunk[y]. Maddened

[x] I have followed the author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. The Persians had no religious veneration for elephants; but ignorant soldiers might have a superstitious feeling regarding the fate of the animal that carried their commander.

[y] Mirkhond.

by pain, the furious animal rushed upon the rude assailant, and trampled him to atoms. The Arabs, dispirited by the fate of their leader, fled in confusion: numbers were slain in the action; more were drowned, as the bridge on the Euphrates, which they had crossed, was broken down. The few that survived retreated to Salabeh, a place on the west bank of the river, and informed Omar of what had happened. The caliph reinforced them: they advanced under Jereer-Ben-Abdullah into Irak; but were again encountered and defeated by Mehran, the general of Pooran-dokht. The celebrated Durufsh Kawanee, or apron of the blacksmith Kâwâh, which had been the royal standard of Persia for so many ages, was displayed in both these battles, and was for the last time propitious to Persia. Encouraged by success, Mehran ventured on another action, but was defeated and slain, and his dispirited troops fled in dismay to Madain. The Persians attributed their bad success to the incompetency of their powerless sovereigns. Ruler after ruler was dethroned and murdered, until the elevation of Yezdijird, which seems to have given a momentary hope to the falling nation. His first measure was to send an envoy to Saad-ben-Wakass, the leader whom the caliph had appointed to the chief command of his forces against Persia; and Saad, in compliance with the request communicated through this person, sent a deputation to Madain, consisting of three old Arab chiefs. When these were seated in the presence of Yezdijird, that monarch addressed himself to the principal person among them, whose name was Shaikh Maghurah, in the following[1] words:—

"We have always held you in the lowest estimation. Arabs hitherto have been only known in Persia in two characters; as merchants and as beggars. Your food is green

[1] Persian authors, in their account of this interview, detail some previous trifling conversation, in which every answer given in Arabic conveys, from its different signification in Pehlivi, some portentous meaning to the superstitious and alarmed Yezdijird.

lizards; your drink, salt water; your covering, garments made of coarse hair. But of late you have come in numbers to Persia; you have eaten of good food, you have drunk of sweet water, and have enjoyed the luxury of soft raiment. You have reported these enjoyments to your brethren, and they are flocking to partake of them. But not satisfied with all the good things you have thus obtained, you desire to impose a new religion on us, who are unwilling to receive it. You appear to me like the fox of our fable, who went into a garden where he found plenty of grapes. The generous gardener would not disturb him. The produce of his abundant vineyard would, he thought, be little diminished by a poor hungry fox enjoying himself; but the animal, not content with his good fortune, went and informed all his tribe of the excellence of the grapes, and the good nature of the gardener. The garden was filled with foxes; and its indulgent master was forced to bar the gates, and kill all the intruders to save himself from ruin. However, as I am satisfied you have been compelled to the conduct which you have pursued from absolute want, I will not only pardon you, but load your camels with wheat and dates, that, when you return to your native land, you may feast your countrymen. But be assured, if you are insensible to my generosity, and remain in Persia, you shall not escape my just vengeance[a]."

The firm and pious envoy heard unmoved a speech at once displaying the extreme of pride and of weakness. "Whatever thou hast said," replied Shaikh Maghurah, "concerning the former condition of the Arabs, is true. Their food was green lizards; they buried their infant daughters alive[b]; nay, some of them feasted on dead

[a] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[b] The horrid practice of female infanticide has been an usage of many nations. Among the ancient Arabs, as among the Rajpoots of the present day, it proceeded as much from a jealous sense of honour as from the pressure of want.

carcasses and drank blood; while others slew their relations, and thought themselves great and valiant, when by such an act they became possessed of more property; they were clothed with hair garments; knew not good from evil; and made no distinction between that which is lawful and that which is unlawful. Such was our state. But God in his mercy has sent us, by a holy prophet, a sacred volume which teaches us the true faith. By it we are commanded to war against infidels, and to exchange our poor and miserable condition for wealth and power. We now solemnly desire you to receive our religion. If you consent, not an Arab shall enter Persia without your permission; and our leaders will only demand the established taxes[c] which all believers are bound to pay. If you do not accept our religion, you are required to pay the tribute[d] fixed for infidels; should you reject both these propositions, you must prepare for war[e]."

Yezdijird was still too proud to attend to such degrading conditions. The embassy was dismissed; and the war renewed with all the vigour of which the declining empire was capable. The Persian army was commanded by Roostum Ferokhzad, who endeavoured to avoid a general action[f]; when at last compelled to fight, he was defeated with immense loss. Almost the whole Persian army, which, we are told, was one hundred thousand strong, fell in the celebrated battle of Kudseah; in which Mahomedan authors assert, that the Arabs lost only three thousand men[g]. The booty was great; but the inhabitants of the desert were yet

[c] The zukat, or religious charity for the poor, was two and a half per cent. upon property. The khums, or fifth, was a tax to support the syuds, or family of the prophet.

[d] Thirty-five per cent. was the tax paid by infidels. It was collected on their property.

[e] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[f] He acted in this manner, Persian authors state, from motives of superstition.

[g] This is the report of Mahomedan historians, who have a great disposition to the wonderful, in relating the first actions of the faithful.

ignorant of its value. "I will give any quantity of this yellow metal for a little white[h]," was an exclamation made after the battle by an Arabian soldier, who desired to exchange gold, which he had never before seen, for silver, which he had learned to appreciate. But what gave its chief importance to this action, was the capture of the famous Durufsh-e-Kawanee[i], the royal standard of the Persian empire; an event deemed both by Arabians and Persians a certain presage of the result of the war. Yezdijird, when he heard of this great defeat, fled to Hulwan with all the property he could carry. Saad-ben-Wakass, after taking possession of Madain, pursued him; and sent his nephew, Hashem, to attack a body of troops[k] which had arrived from Shirwan and Aderbijan. This force took shelter in the fort of Jelwallah, where they were attacked and made prisoners. On learning this, Yezdijird left his army, and fled to Rhé. Hashem advanced to Hulwan, which he soon reduced. The city of Ahwaz, which appears to have been a place of great importance at this period, was also taken by the Arabs; thence Saad marched by the caliph's order to Amber; but finding that situation unhealthy he halted his army at Koofa,—a place which soon afterwards acquired celebrity. The foundations of Bussorah were laid in the same year by the Arab chief, Alabah Ghuzwan.

Saad-ben-Wakass, who continued to govern all that part of Persia which he had conquered from his fixed camp or

[h] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[i] We are informed by d'Herbelot, that this famous standard was so richly ornamented, that it was divided into many portions, and enriched all who shared in it. Major Price, in his valuable history of the Mahomedans, is more particular; writing from the Hubeeb-ul-Syur and the Rozut-ul-Suffa, both highly respectable works, he states, that for the tribe of Bene Temiem "was reserved the additional good fortune of seizing the celebrated standard of the Persian empire; which, from the original dimensions and shape of a blacksmith's apron, had been, by this time, enlarged to the length of two-and-twenty feet, by about fifteen feet in breadth, enriched with jewels of great value."—Price's *History*, vol. i. p. 116.

[k] Under the command of Mehran, the son of Babaram.

rather new City of Koofa, was recalled by Omar, on account of a complaint made against him by those under his rule; and Omar Yuseer was appointed his successor. Yezdijird, encouraged by the removal of a leader whom he so much dreaded, assembled an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men from Khorassan, Rhé, and Hamadan; and placing it under the command of Firouzan, the bravest of the Persian generals, resolved to put the fate of his empire at issue on one great battle.

The caliph, when he heard of these preparations, ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army in Persia from every quarter of his dominions; and committing the whole to the chief command of Noman[l], he directed him to exert his utmost efforts to destroy for ever the impious worship of fire. The Arabian force assembled at Koofa, and thence marched to the plains of Nahavund[m], on which the Persians had established a camp, surrounded by a deep entrenchment. During two months these great armies continued in sight of each other, and many skirmishes were fought. The Persian general appearing determined not to quit his position, the zeal of the leader of the faithful became impatient of delay. He drew up his army in order of battle, and thus addressed them: "My friends! prepare yourselves to conquer, or to drink of the sweet sherbet[n] of martyrdom. I shall now call the Tukbeer three times: at the first you will gird your loins; at the second mount your steeds; and at the third point your lances, and rush to victory or to Paradise. As to me," said Noman, with a raised and enraptured voice, "I shall be a martyr! When I am slain, obey the orders of Huzeefah-ebn-Aly-Oman[o]."

[l] He was called Noman-ben Mukran Muzunnee: the latter term is the name of his tribe.

[m] Nahavund is a small village situated forty-five miles to the south of Hamadan.

[n] In warm countries, and among the nations where religion forbids wine, sherbet or lemonade is the beverage in which they delight.

[o] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

The moment he had done speaking, the first sound of the Tukbeer (Allah-Akbar, or God is great,) was heard throughout the camp. At the second all were upon their horses; and at the third, which was repeated by the whole army, the Mahomedans charged with a fury that was irresistible. Noman was slain, as he predicted; but his army gained a great and memorable victory. Thirty thousand Persians were pierced by their lances; eighty thousand more were drowned in the deep trench by which they had surrounded their camp. Their general, Firouzan, with four thousand men, fled to the hills; but such was the terror on one side and the confidence on the other, that he was pursued, defeated, and slain by a body of not more than a thousand men.

The battle of Nahavund decided the fate of Persia, which now fell under the dominion of the Arabian caliphs. Yezdijird protracted for several years a wretched and precarious existence. He first fled to Seistan, then to Khorassan, and lastly to Merv. The governor[p] of that city invited the Khakan[q] of the Tartars to take possession of the person of the fugitive monarch. That sovereign accepted the offer; his troops entered Merv, the gates of which were opened to them by the treacherous governor, and made themselves master of it, in spite of the desperate resistance of the surprised but brave and enraged inhabitants. Yezdijird escaped on foot from the town during the confusion of the contest. He reached a mill eight miles from Merv, and entreated the miller to conceal him. The man told him he owed a certain sum to the owner of the mill, and that, if he paid the debt, he should have his protection against all pursuers. The monarch agreed to this proposal; and, after giving his rich sword and belt as

[p] The name of the governor was Mahouyiah.

[q] Khondimir, who quotes the Nizam-ul-Tuarikh, says it was the King of the Hiatila, or White Hunt, whom he invited. On the other hand, Ferdosi says it was Pizun, a chief of Turan, who ruled at Samarcund.

pledges of his sincerity, retired to rest with perfect confidence. But the miller could not resist the temptation of making his fortune by the possession of the rich arms and robes of the unfortunate prince, whose head he severed from his body with the sword he had received from him, and then cast his corpse into the water-course that turned the mill[r]. The governor of Merv, and those who had aided him, began in a few days to suffer from the tyranny of the Khakan, and to repent of the part they had acted. They encouraged the citizens to rise upon the Tartars; and not only recovered the city, but forced the Khakan to fly with great loss to Bokharah. A diligent inquiry was made after Yezdijird, whose fate was soon discovered. The miller fell a victim to popular rage; and the corpse of the monarch was embalmed and sent to Istakhr, to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors. This prince, who appears to have been as weak as he was unfortunate, sat upon the throne only nine years; that being the period from his elevation to the battle of Nahavund[s]. He was the last sovereign of the House of Sassan, a family which governed Persia during four hundred and fifteen years; and their memory is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the names of Ardisheer, Shahpoor, and Nousheerwan.

We here close the history of ancient Persia. Since the foundation of the Sassanian dynasty by Ardisheer, we have been assisted by the authentic records of contemporary Greek writers; and the main facts subsequent to that epoch may be considered as tolerably well established. What precedes has been, and is likely to continue, a matter of curious and doubtful speculation. If the Persian accounts

[r] This account of the death of Yezdijird is taken from the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. Ferdosi extenuates the conduct of the miller; who, he says, saved the wretched monarch till his retreat was discovered by the emissaries of the governor of Merv, when he was compelled, by that ruler's mandate, to become his murderer: but this account is not so probable as the other.

[s] From the battle of Nahavund till the death of Yezdijird, a period of ten years, this monarch was a fugitive, possessed of no power whatever.

are fabulous and poetical, those of the Greeks are narrow and partial, and inconclusive; and the discrepancies are such as it is not easy to reconcile. This subject, however, merits great attention, and has received it. The religion, the polity, the language, the character, and the fate, of a great and primitive nation can never be without interest to the thoughtful mind; and the names of Persia and of the early Persian kings are associated with some of our earliest and favourite recollections. It has therefore been thought that the present work would be incomplete without something like a critical comparative view of the various documents on which the history of ancient Persia is founded, and of the events related in them. The reflections to which this comparison has given rise will be found in the Appendix at the end of the volume.

Chapter VI.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CALIPHS IN PERSIA, AND OF THE PETTY DYNASTIES OF BEN LEIS, SAMANEE, AND DILEMEE.

We now commence a new era in Persian history. The arms of the Mahomedans effected a great revolution in that country; but, though its religion was completely changed, and the manners of its inhabitants much altered, the government continued essentially the same. There is so little left concerning ancient Persia, that a fear of neglecting even trifles, which might throw a light on it, may have led to prolixity in that part of the subject. From the conquest by the Arabians, to the reign of Nadir Shah, it will be sufficient to give a general and concise account of the numerous dynasties which governed that kingdom. After the elevation of Nadir, more detail would be necessary, as every

event will then derive importance from its connexion with the present state of the East.

In modern Persian history, we cannot complain of wanting materials; but the best Mahomedan authors are only good annalists. They give the occurrences of the year with exactness, and sometimes enliven the record with a few characteristic anecdotes of the monarchs; but though their style is often remarkable for perspicuity, and their facts may be depended upon, (unless when they are writing of the princes under whose protection they lived,) their pages have seldom much interest. A Persian author, it is true, is in general exempt from any political bias; and though his volume may have the colour of his religious feelings, it is never written to support a system, and can therefore hardly mislead: but this negative merit arises from the scenes amid which he lives, and the actions he has to detail. Asiatic historians seldom speculate on changes in the manners of men, in the frame of society, or in the form of governments. They are entire strangers to the science of political economy, and never reason on any subject connected with the rise or fall of nations, except with reference to the personal character of their rulers. It must be obvious, that such writers, though they may be more free from error, can never attain any portion of that excellence which belongs to those who, living under happier auspices, have mixed the wisdom of philosophy with the facts of history, so as to instruct future ages, by their narration of the events of the past.

From what has been said, it will appear that the defects of eastern history are not to be ascribed to any want of talents in the writers, but to the condition of the society they lived in, and to the subjects of which they treat. The tale of despotism, which is the only one they have to tell, is always the same; and the quick succession of absolute monarchs and servile ministers, often renders the volumes which record their lives a mere catalogue of names and of crimes. The difficulty of constructing a work from such materials is great, and is hardly lessened by their abundance.

After the flight of Yezdijird, the leaders of the caliph's armies soon overran the whole of Persia from the Euphrates to the Oxus, destroying, with bigot fury, all that was useful, grand, or sacred. A great portion of the conquered, preferring the abandonment of their religion to oppression or death, adopted the faith of their new masters; while those, who were unable to endure the scene, fled self-banished into a distant land. The progress of the conquerors was rapid and wonderful: colonies from the burning desert of Arabia were spread over the cold countries of Khorassan and Bulkh; and they flourished in the soil to which they were transplanted. Their descendants still remain a distinct race[t], and continue to preserve the manners and appearance, though they have lost the language, of their forefathers. When the great conquest was complete, lieutenants were appointed to the different divisions of the country; and Persia was held as a province, in the vast empire of the Arabian caliphs, for more than two centuries. Its history, during that period, is to be found in that of its conquerors; and even there it occupies but a small and unimportant space. The only events of consequence are petty revolts of insubordinate governors, who, when the power of the caliphs declined, tried to render their provinces hereditary principalities, and humbled themselves to that paramount power when it was strong and efficient.

In the government of Khorassan we trace three generations descended from Tahir[u], who exercised almost regal

[t] I have conversed with a man of the tribe of Ben-Shybanee, who belonged to a branch of it, settled within four days' march of Bokharah: his countenance and manner were as completely Arabian as if he had been a native of Yemen, which he accounted for by saying, that none of his tribe intermarried with the other inhabitants of the country. The Arabs, in Khorassan, in Bulkh, and even in the vicinity of Bokharah, are still numerous; but, except in the former, they have no chiefs of any distinction, it having been the policy of both the Tartars and Affghans to scatter and weaken them. Though many of these tribes have preserved the name and appearance of Arabians, they have completely lost the language.

[u] The story of the two sons of the celebrated Haroun-ul-Rusheed, is fami-

power; and when the caliph, Mamoon, desired to remove the grandson of Tahir, he was compelled to employ his uncle to attack him; a proof that this system had already created a number of great feudatory lords, or chiefs, over whom the caliphs could only maintain their nominal authority by exciting family divisions. A country could not long remain in such a state. The fever of religious enthusiasm soon passed; the person of the caliph was no longer held sacred, nor his command obeyed with that implicit obedience which the followers of Mahomed paid to his first successors. He had become a pageant, who resided at the palace in Bagdad, and acted by the direction of some chief who was the nominal slave of his authority. His temporal power was at as low an ebb as his religious; and his discontented and mutinous armies were hardly able to protect from usurpation the districts in the immediate vicinity of his capital, much less to hold in subjection distant provinces, whose governors used his name in public prayers, but disdained to give any further mark of their duty or allegiance.

The sceptre of the once proud kingdom of Persia, thus fallen from the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and Aly, seemed to present itself to any bold leader who had the courage to seize it. So dazzling a prize must have tempted many to their ruin. It was at last obtained by a man who, born in the lowest ranks of life, was ennobled by his valour, generosity, and wisdom. Yacoob-ben-Leis was the son of a pewterer named Leis, in

liar to every reader of oriental history. The caliph, Ameen, the son of the beautiful, virtuous, and high-born Zobiedah, was the weakest and most wretched of men; while his brother, Mamoon, whose mother was a slave, commanded the esteem of all, by his courage, enterprise, and wisdom. Their father, respecting the descent of the one, and the character of the other, left his empire between them; but Ameen not only tried to degrade his brother, by leaving his name out of the public prayers, but sent an army to destroy him. The fortunes of Mamoon were intrusted to the skill and valour of Tahir-zul-Yemneen, who defeated the army of Ameen, and afterwards slew him.

Seistan. He worked, when very young, at his father's trade; but all his gains, and all he could obtain from his indulgent parent, were squandered among a number of boys of the same age, with whom his boldness and prodigality made him a favourite. As he grew up, his means became unequal to his increased wants, and those of his young friends, whom he was in the habit of supplying. Tempted by the distracted state of the country, he became a robber; and was followed by those whom his liberality from childhood had attached to his person and fortunes. The number and character of his followers, and the success of his enterprises, soon gave him fame and wealth; and his generous and humane usage of those whom he plundered, added to his renown and popularity. In such a state of society, the transition from the condition of a successful robber to that of a chief of reputation, was easy and natural. A man who possessed activity and courage, and who was able to command a number of adherents, could not fail of early attaining rank and consequence. Salah-ebn-Naser, who had usurped the government of Seistan, when threatened by an attack from Tahir-ebn-Abdullah, ruler of Khorassan, was glad to obtain the services of the robber, Yacoob; who rose so rapidly to power, that he was intrusted by Dirhem-ebn-Naser, the successor of his brother Salah, with the command of his army. The first use he made of this power was to seize[1] the chief that had bestowed it on him, and send him prisoner to Bagdad, claiming as a recompense the government of his native province, which he promised to hold as the servant and lieutenant of the Lord of the Faithful. His pretensions do not appear to have been opposed by the weak and cruel Mutawukel, who probably was caliph at this period, as the usurpation of

[1] This account is taken from the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. Khondemir says, that Yacoob continued in the command of Dirhem's army till the death of that chief, when the troops proclaimed him ruler.

Yacoob must have been prior to his assassination [y]. Yacoob lost no time in adding to his strength: his first efforts were directed against the Governor of Khorassan, from whom he took the important fortress of Herat [z]; he next turned his arms against the province of Kerman, which he reduced; thence he marched and made himself master of Shiraz.

When he returned from this expedition, he sent a present to Muatamed-ul-ullah [a], the son of Mutawukel, who then sat upon the throne of Bagdad, by an officer, who was commanded to say, that Yacoob considered himself one of the lowest of the caliph's slaves [b]. This mission, however, did not prevent the caliph from remonstrating with him, when he again invaded Fars; and an offer was made to grant him, if he desisted, a regular investiture for the government of Bulkh and of Bokharah, in addition to that which he held of Seistan. He accepted these terms; and assuming the title, which he had now a right to, of the caliph's lieutenant, marched in the direction of Bulkh, of which, and the city of Cabul he soon made himself master; and then turned his arms against Khorassan. In the same year he fought an action near Nishapore, with the last prince of the family of Tahir [c], whom he took prisoner, and sent, with one hundred

[y] This caliph was put to death in the year of the Hejirah 247, by some conspirators, headed by his son, Moutaher. He was murdered as he was drinking with his friends. His vizier, Futteh, seeing he could not defend his master, exclaimed, "O Mutawukel! I do not desire to survive thee!" and received from a conspirator the death he wished. Mutawukel had a jester, as all Asiatic princes have. This man, when he saw the work of death commence, crept into a corner; but when he observed the vizier's fate, he rushed out, and, imitating his solemnity of manner, exclaimed, "O Mutawukel! I do most anxiously desire to survive thee!" The men of blood could not help smiling, and the wit escaped.

[z] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[a] The name of this prince was Abas-Abul-Ahmed. The name in the text is his title. It signifies, "The trusted of God."

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] Zul-yemneen, or "the ambidexter," was the title given to Tahir, the founder of this family, from his having used both hands, when he clove the general of the caliph, Ameen, in two at the head of his army.

and sixty of his family and relations, to Seistan. The victorious Yacoob proceeded in his career; and, in another battle fought near Sari, in Mazenderan, completely routed the governor[d] of that province, who fled towards Ghilan. Yacoob pursued him, and lost almost the whole of his army by the unhealthiness of the climate. Checked by this misfortune, he found himself compelled to retreat to Seistan; whence he immediately sent another mission to Bagdad, claiming that reward which he contended he had merited, for doing his duty as a faithful servant of the caliph, in attacking and defeating the revolted governors of Khorassan and Taberistan. The caliph, who could not but deem this message an insult, commanded that Yacoob (whom he declared a rebel) should be publicly cursed in all the mosques of the countries he had conquered[e]; but that chief smiled at the impotent mandate of his nominal sovereign, and advanced against Fars, which he compelled to submit to his authority[f]. The means of Yacoob, after this success, appeared equal to the great object of his ambition, which was to seize Bagdad and usurp the power, if not destroy the government, of the caliphs. Muatamed dreaded the result; and weakly sought to evade the contest by sending him an investiture as governor of Khorassan, Taberistan, and Fars, which, in addition to what he possessed, would have formed a great kingdom: but Yacoob rejected this offer with disdain; "Tell your master," said he to the envoy, "I already am indebted to my sword for the countries he so generously desires to bestow on me. Let him keep his investiture for some person who will own the obligation, and who is disposed to question my title." The proud insolence of this message proclaimed, too openly to be mistaken, the ambitious designs of him

[d] Hussein-ben-Zyd-Alavee. From their names, it would appear that, at this period, all the lieutenants of the caliphs in Persia were of Arabian families.

[e] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[f] The government of Fars had been usurped by Mahomed-ben-Wasil, who opposed Yacoob, but was defeated.

who sent it, and roused for a moment the torpid court of Bagdad. Every possible exertion was made to raise and equip an army; and the command was committed to Muaffick, the brother of the caliph, who appears to have merited the great trust reposed in him on this occasion. He met and defeated Yacoob near Bagdad; but that chief, undismayed by a casual reverse, soon recruited his army, and advanced again to attack that capital. The caliph, dreading a war, in which the loss of one battle must have terminated his power, if not his life, sent another mission to Yacoob. When it reached his camp, he lay dangerously ill of a painful complaint. But his situation did not prevent his insisting on the envoy being brought to his presence; and he commanded at the same time that his sword, some coarse bread, and dried onions, should be laid before him. "Tell your master," said he to the envoy, "that, if I live, that sword shall decide betwixt us; if I conquer, I will do as I please; if he is victorious, that bread and those onions, which thou seest, is my fare; and neither he nor fortune can triumph over a man accustomed to such diet[g]." This act, indicating his stern resolution, is the last recorded of him: he died[h] two days afterwards, leaving almost the whole kingdom of Persia to his brother, Amer.

Yacoob-ben-Leis is described by all authors as a man whose manners were very winning, and characterized by great simplicity. The attachment of his followers was extreme; the playmates of his boyhood rose to the first stations of his government. He seems, from his speech to the envoy of the caliph, to have entertained a pride in his abstemious habits: his tent was hardly better than that of the lowest soldier. His contempt of luxury, combined with his eminent courage and firmness, appear to have rendered him worthy of a success, which he never abused by any wanton cruelty or oppression. But we read the history of Yacoob

[g] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[h] Khondemir places his death in the year of the Hejirah 265.

from very partial historians. The Persians, warmly attached to the principles of the Sheah sect, are delighted with a chief who made so formidable an attack on the power of the Soonee caliphs. They relate the following anecdote of Yacoob, as a proof of his attachment to their opinions. He was informed one day that Abou Yusoof, an officer of his army, had cursed Osman[i]: conceiving the personage cursed was Osman Sunjuree, a contemporary ruler, with whom he was on terms of friendship, he ordered Yusoof to be brought before him, and punished. His vizier, who was a Soonee, desired to inflame his anger, and pointing at the prisoner, exclaimed: "There is the man who has dared with profane lips to curse the holy companion of our prophet!"—"I have been acting under a mistake," said Yacoob, with a smile; "I thought it was another great personage he had abused: release Abou Yusoof, I have no alliance with that Osman[k]!" Yacoob was the first of a family which continued, for a short time, to exercise sovereign authority over great part of Persia. It was distinguished from other dynasties by the name of Suffaree; which signifies a pewterer, and denoted the original occupation of its founder.

Amer[l], the brother and successor of Yacoob, showed a very different disposition in his conduct toward the caliph, to whom he addressed a respectful letter, and readily consented to hold Irak-Ajum, Fars, Khorassan, Seistan, and Taberistan, or, in other words, the kingdom of Persia, as the nominal slave of the Lord of the Faithful. We are

[i] This name is written Othman by the Arabians. He was the third caliph; whose right to the caliphate, as well as that of his predecessors, Aboubeker and Omar, the Persians, being of the Sheah sect, dispute. Aly, they affirm, should have succeeded Mahomed, who was his uncle and father-in-law; and the prophet, they contend, appointed him to be his successor.

[k] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] He is generally, from a common mistake, called *Amrou*. This arises from pronouncing the last vowel which is silent, being only added to distinguish Amer from Omar.

told[m], that, soon after his accession, Amer directed every commander of a thousand horse to appear with a golden mace in his hand; and when he saw a hundred chiefs with this mark of their rank, he sighed, and exclaimed: "O that Providence had permitted me to lead an army like this to the defence of Hussein and Hussun[n] on the plains of Kerbelah!" This pious wish, according to Mahomedan writers, has given him a high place in the regions of eternal bliss.

For some years Amer prospered: he continued to acknowledge the authority of the caliph and to send him annual presents, and he performed by deputy the duties of governor of Bagdad, the chief station in the empire. The first reverse that he experienced, was a serious rebellion in Khorassan. The inhabitants of that province demanded that the caliph would relieve them from the oppression of his government. The affairs of the court at Bagdad were entirely conducted at this period by Muaffick, the brother of Muatamed. That wise and brave prince, who saw the importance of reducing the dangerous power of the family of Ben Leis, not only appointed a new governor of Khorassan, but assembled a large army to support this measure, and commanded that Amer should be publicly cursed in every mosque of that province; a mode of excommunication which must have had some effect, as it appears to have been one of the expedients to which the caliphs had constant resort, to support their declining authority. But Muaffick trusted more to temporal than spiritual means: his army advanced against Amer, and gave him a signal defeat. Amer fled, by the route of Shiraz[o], to his native province of Seistan; and a long period seems to have elapsed before he recovered from the effects of this reverse. When his power was restored, he made another attack on Khorassan, and not only

[m] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[n] The unfortunate sons of Aly, and grandsons of Mahomed.

[o] From his flying in this route, the action must have been fought in the southern part of Irak.

defeated and slew the governor[p], but made himself completely master of that turbulent province. The conduct of Amer on this occasion proves that the paramount authority of the caliph was still supported by public opinion. Amer sent the head of the governor of Khorassan to Bagdad, accompanied by rich presents[q], and solicited forgiveness and restoration to power. The caliph, pleased with this act of submission, and desirous of employing him at a distance, gave him a grant of Khorassan, Seistan, Bulkh, and the province of Maverul-Naher, or Transoxania, and directed his name to be read in the public prayers at Bagdad, next to his own. But Amer was not satisfied; and formed a plan for making himself master of the person and government of the caliph. To accomplish this, he advanced towards Bagdad, and when near, went forward with four hundred horse to pay his respects to his nominal sovereign, who, however, having suspicions of his real design, devised a counterplot to seize him, and Amer only saved his life by the fleetness of his horse, after losing one of his eyes, and almost all his followers, in a sharp conflict at the palace of the caliph[r]. The disappointed chief rejoined his army, encamped at Jelwan, near Bagdad, and commanded a retreat.

Irritated at this attempt, and anxious to weaken the power of so dangerous a subject, the caliph instigated a Tartar lord, named Ismail Samanee, who had already gained great fame by his exploits in his own country, to usurp the government of Transoxania. Amer detached one of his generals against Ismail; and on his defeat, determined,

[p] This chief appears to have been an usurper. In the History of the Arabians, vol. iii., page 306, he is called Mahomed-ben-Zyd, and is said to have assumed the title of caliph. I have followed the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. Khondemir says, it was not Mahomed-ben-Alavee, but his general, Raffeah, that Amer defeated. D'Herbelot states, that Amer sent Mahomed-ben-Alavee prisoner to Bagdad.

[q] Among these was a very curious idol. It had four hands; in its ears were two rich jewelled ear-rings. It was mounted on a cow as large as a camel, and appears to have been an Hindoo image.—*Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.*

[r] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

contrary to the advice of all his councillors, to cross the Oxus himself. He carried seventy thousand men with him on this expedition. The Tartar chief did not bring above twenty thousand to the field; but valour overcame numbers, and Amer was completely routed[s]. He fled, but his horse having fallen, was made prisoner. The change of fortune was immense; the reverse was marked by a trifling occurrence so ludicrous that even Amer was compelled to mirth, at the alteration a few hours had made in his condition. While he sat on the ground, a soldier prepared a coarse meal for him; as it was boiling in one of the pots used for the food of the horses, a dog put his head in, but the mouth being small, could not draw it out again, so he ran away both with the pot and the meat. The captive monarch burst into laughter; and on one of his guards demanding what could induce a person in his situation to laugh, replied: "But this morning the steward of my household complained that three hundred camels were not enough to carry my kitchen furniture: how easily is it now borne by that dog, who has carried off both my cooking utensils and my dinner[t]!" This anecdote places Amer, on one essential point, in complete contrast with Yacoob, whose diet on bread and onions, in a country where the example of the chief has such influence on his followers, was as likely to raise him to power, as the luxury of his brother was to produce his downfall. Amer was sent by his conqueror to Bagdad, where he was confined for some years: his execution was the last act of the Caliph Muatezzeed, who gave orders for it a few minutes before his death[u].

Amer enjoyed power for twenty-three years. He used

[s] I follow the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. D'Herbelot, writing from Khondemir, does not mention the defeat of Amer's general before his advance; and states, that the horse of Amer, seizing the bit in his mouth, ran off with his rider into the ranks of Ismail, who thus obtained an easy victory.

[t] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[u] Some authors deny this, and say he was released at the death of his caliph.

one method of preserving it, not unsuited to the nature of his government: he purchased numbers of young slaves, had them carefully educated, and then presented them to his principal military and civil officers; and from these private agents, who were brought up to be spies, he knew all that passed, and was so well acquainted with the secrets in the families of his chiefs, that many, not perceiving his means of information, believed him to possess supernatural knowledge. Although Amer had not the great qualities of his brother Yacoob, he was not deficient in courage or good sense: his disposition was cheerful. When reviewing his army[x], seeing a man mounted upon a very lean horse, he exclaimed: "My soldiers have all lean horses and fat wives." "My wife," said the man, "is much leaner than my horse; if your majesty doubts me, I will bring her to muster." The prince smiled, and gave him some money, desiring him to fatten both.

With Amer fell the fortunes of his family. His grandson, Taher, struggled for power in his native province; but after a reign of six years, during which he conquered part of Fars, his authority was subverted by one of his own officers, who seized and sent him prisoner to Bagdad. The only other prince of the family that attained any eminence, was a chief named Kuliph[y], who, with the aid of Munsoor Samanee, established himself in Seistan, and maintained his power over that province, until Mahmood of Ghizni defeated and made him prisoner.

The representations of Kuliph's character are completely at variance with his history: the same page which recounts his barbarous and inhuman actions[z], contains the most ex-

[x] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[y] Kuliph was descended from Yacoob-ben-Leis in the female line.

[z] We are told in the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, that the great object of Kuliph's ambition was to conquer the neighbouring province of Kerman, then held by the Dilemee family. His army, commanded by his eldest son, was at first successful, but afterwards defeated with great loss: when its leader returned to Seistan, he was slain by his merciless father, who, after this

travagant praises of his great wisdom and unbounded liberality. These contradictions are easily reconciled. This prince lived in the Augustan age of Persian literature, when the example of that munificent patronage, which the royal families of Saman and Ghizni extended to men of learning

unnatural act, pretended to mourn over the body, and insisted on his right to avenge the blood of the youth on the ruler of Fars, for compelling him, he said, to commit this murder. But in vain he entreated the inhabitants of Seistan to make a second attack on Kerman; and he fell on an expedient suited to the atrocity of his character. The cazy or chief judge of Seistan was deservedly popular from his justice and piety. Kuliph entreated this old man to proceed on a peaceable mission to Kerman, to settle all differences by an amicable negotiation. Delighted at the prospect of doing good, the cazy assented to his request; but, after his first conference with the ruler of Kerman, he was poisoned by the agents of Kuliph, who instantly spread a report, that this horrid crime was perpetrated by the inhabitants of Kerman; and, while this was believed, he found no difficulty in raising an army. The inhabitants of Seistan readily enrolled themselves, to avenge their venerable and beloved magistrate: their fury gave them success. Kerman was subdued; but the son of Kuliph, who commanded his troops, threw off all allegiance to his father, whose enormous guilt he had probably discovered. Kuliph marched to reduce his son, but he was deserted by his followers, and compelled to shut himself up in a fort, where he was on the point of being taken, when he pretended to fall sick, and affected such excruciating pain that all near him thought him at the point of death. In this situation he sent the following message to his son: "A few hours must terminate my existence: I have none but you to whom I can leave what I have in this world, of power or of wealth. The hoarded treasures of our family must not pass into a stranger's hands. Hasten to receive my last blessing, and to learn where all that I possess is concealed." The youth was deceived, and hurried to his father, who, the moment his son was close to him, sprang up and stabbed him to the heart. This deed proclaimed his recovery: he returned to his capital amid the execrations of his subjects, who soon afterwards invited Mahmood of Ghizni to seize Seistan. That monarch accepted the invitation, and advanced with a large army. Kuliph, deserted by his followers, could make little resistance: he shut himself up in the strong fort of Taak, which Mahmood besieged. The ditch was filled with faggots of wood, and the gate almost destroyed by an elephant, before Kuliph solicited mercy. We are told that, when praying for pardon, he addressed Mahmood by the high name of sultan. The new title was grateful to the monarch's ear; it recommended him who had used it to clemency; and the last descendant of Yacoob-ben-Leis, noticed in history, was sent to Ghizni, where he lived four years, and died a natural death. Such is the substance of this prince's life, as given in the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

and genius, was imitated by every petty ruler of a province; and none appears to have lavished his bounty with more judgment than Kuliph; for we find a name, which should have been handed down to detestation, covered by historians with a veil of panegyric, and enshrined by poets in the temple of virtue.

From the downfall of the house of Ben Leis to the rise of the celebrated Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, is a period of near a century, during which Persia was divided between two families, the Samanee and Dilemee *. The power of the Samanees extended over Khorassan, Seistan, Bulkh, aud the countries of Transoxania, including the cities of Bokharah and Samarcund; and they at times possessed and often ravaged part of Irak. Originally raised by the caliphs, in the pride of power they threw off even nominal allegiancc; while their rivals and enemies of the family of Dilemee always acknowledged the supremacy of the caliphs; and, during their rule, one of this family was vizier of the empire, and consequently vested with the management of affairs at Bagdad. But though the Dilemee princes styled themselves the slaves of the Lord of the Faithful, they exercised sovereign power over the greatest part of Irak, Fars, Kerman, Khuzistan, and Laristan, making peace and war as independent princes. This family survived the dynasty of the Samanee, though with reduced power, and were not wholly destroyed till the capture of Bagdad by Togrul Beg, the founder of the House of Seljookee.

The minute history of the wars carried on by the monarchs of these houses, and by their real and nominal dependants, would be useless and uninteresting. A short account of the founders of each family; of the characters of the most distinguished princes; and of the most striking events which marked their rule, will throw every desirable light on such a period.

Ismail, the first king of the race of Saman, traced his

* This dynasty is often called that of Aly Buyah.

descent[b] from Baharam Choubeen, the warrior who contended for the crown of Persia with Khoosroo Purveez[c]. Saman, his great-grandfather, is termed by European writers a keeper of herds and a robber; but this merely designates the occupation of a Tartar chief. That his family was noble, is proved by the notice which the Caliph Mamoon, when on an expedition to Merv, took of his grandsons; he desired the governor, whom he left in Transoxania, to employ those young men on account of their ability and high descent[d]. Noah, the eldest, was appointed to the important government of Samarcund; Ahmed, the second, was sent to subdue the province of Ferghanah[e]; another was appointed to Herat; and a fourth vested with the command of the troops in Maver-ul-Naher. Such were the first employments of this family; and they establish its eminence even before it was raised to power by the favour of the caliph. Ahmed afterwards succeeded his brother Noah, in the government of Samarcund, which he held under the family of Tahir, the viceroys of the caliph in Khorassan. He left seven sons: to the eldest, Nasr, he made over his government before his death. When Yacoob-ben-Leis had

[b] The genealogy of this family is given by some authors. It was probably made after they became sovereigns.

[c] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[d] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[e] The following description of this province is extracted from the memoirs of the celebrated Baber, the founder of the royal family of Dehli, who was born in Ferghanah:

"This province has Kashgar to the east; on the west, Samarcund; to the south, the hilly country that bounds Budukshan; to the North were the ancient cities of Macleigh, Matu, and Maka; but these have long been destroyed by the Usbegs, and the country is now a desert. This province is small, but very fertile, both in grain and fruits. It is surrounded by hills on all sides, except the west, towards Samarcund; and from that quarter alone it is exposed to invasion. The River Sihoon, (the Jaxartes of eastern geographers.) sometimes called the River of Khojund, coming from the north-east, divides the country and flows west; after passing to the north of Khojund, and to the south of Fiakut, now called Shamer Khia, it then inclines northerly, and flows through Turkistan without meeting any other river. It loses itself in the sands."

destroyed the family of Tahir, the caliph invested Nasr with the government of Maver-ul-Naher, in the hope that the elevation of so powerful a rival would check designs which aimed at the destruction of the caliphate. Nasr accepted the situation; but not desiring to leave Samarcund, sent one of his younger brothers, Ismail, to Bokharah. Ismail established an intimate friendship with Raffeah[f], who then ruled Khorassan, and through his influence obtained the government of Khaurizm in addition to that of Bokharah. Nasr was easily persuaded that this act of his brother was only a prelude to an attack on Samarcund, and assembled an army to reduce him. Ismail called on his friend Raffeah, who joined him in person, and succeeded in negotiating a peace between the two brothers; but it was not of long duration. Nasr again took the field: he advanced to Bokharah, where his army was defeated, and he himself taken prisoner; but, instead of treating him with severity, Ismail refused even to be seated in the presence of an elder brother, whom he declared he still loved and respected, however much he had been deluded by bad advisers. Ismail not only gave Nasr full liberty, but insisted on his returning to Samarcund to resume his government, saying, he should be quite content to hold that of Bokharah as his lieutenant. Nasr at first could not be convinced that his brother was serious; but when he found by his actions that he was sincere, gratitude and admiration took entire dominion of his heart, and he continued until his death to cherish the warmest fraternal feelings towards Ismail. That chief was, if possible, more distinguished for his valour than his generosity: nothing but heroic courage could have given him the decisive victory over Amer-ben-Leis, whom he engaged, as has been related, with less than half his numbers. After this, the power of Ismail was established[g] over Kho-

[f] Raffeah was a deputy of Mahomed-ben-Zeyd Alavee, who has been before mentioned.

[g] When Ismail sent Amer-ben-Leis prisoner to Bagdad, the caliph, Muatezzced, returned him the investiture of Seistan, Mazenderan, Kij, and

rassan, Bulkh, and Seistan, as well as Samarcund, Bokharah, and Khaurizm. He had before obtained great fame by the success of an expedition against a chief in Tartary, styled the King of Turkistan, whose territories were beyond the Jaxartes. This ruler was defeated and made prisoner by Ismail; and we may form some idea of the quantity of booty which his army obtained on this occasion, when every horseman, in the distribution of plunder, (which Ismail, in the true spirit of a Tartar chief, made after his victory,) shared a thousand dirhems[h] in money. Soon after conquering Amer, Ismail subdued the city and province of Rhe, the whole of Taberistan, and part of Irak. After his return from the invasion of Persia, he again advanced into the north-eastern parts of Tartary, and subjected many provinces to his rule. This justly celebrated prince died at the age of sixty; and, if we may credit his historians, few absolute monarchs were ever more regretted.

All eastern authors agree in their character of Ismail Samanee. He was brave, generous, pious, and just. He spurned at the proffered treasures of Amer-ben-Leis. "Your family," said he to that chief, (when he was prisoner, and offered to reveal his riches,) "were pewterers: fortune favoured you for a day, and you abused her favours, by plundering the faithful. That wicked act has rendered your fall as rapid as your rise. Seek not to make my fate like yours, as it would be if I soiled my hands with such sacrilegious wealth[i]." But his virtue endured a still more severe trial. His army, after he had taken Herat, was in the most extreme distress for want of money. Ismail

Isfahan. Ismail received these marks of favour with a show of pious gratitude. He prostrated himself twice before he was robed in each dress of honour, and if we are to believe Persian historians, gave the bearer seven hundred thousand dinaars, 320,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, calculating the dinaar at nine shillings and two pence.

[h] This share, which is said to have been independent of horses and camels, amounts to thirty-one pounds five shillings, calculating the dirhem at five pence halfpenny.

[i] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

had given his word not to levy a contribution on that city; but his soldiers clamorously demanded that he should consider their merits and wants before a faith that had been too hastily pledged. Ismail, however, was firm; as the army became every hour more distressed, and discontented, he ordered them to march away, lest the temptation to violate his word, which he had ever held sacred, should be too great. He had gone, we are told by Persian historians[k], but a short distance, when a ruby necklace of one of his ladies was carried away by a vulture, being from its redness mistaken for meat. The bird was watched, and seen to deposit the jewel in a dry well, which was immediately searched. The necklace was recovered; and several boxes of treasure were found lying near it, which proved to be part of the wealth of Amer, stolen by his servant, Sam, from his palace at Seistan. The monarch rejoiced at this boon of fortune. He paid his army, and bade them learn from what had happened, that God would never desert the man who withstood temptation, and preserved his faith inviolate[l].

Ismail was succeeded by his son, Ahmed[m], an inglo-

[k] This tale is, I believe, told by almost all Persian historians: they have copied it from each other. Ismail was a great and virtuous prince; and it is likely that any remarkable occurrence of his life would be blended with fable to convey a lesson to other monarchs. This mode of instruction is common with all eastern nations, and was not disdained by the first Greek writers.

[l] According to the Kholausat-ul-Akhbar, Ismail exclaimed, when his generals urged him to violate his word, "That Being, who, with the scourge of his destiny, compelled the horse of Omar Lais to place his rider at my disposal, is also able to supply the wants, and repair the equipments of my soldiers, without the guilt on my part of a breach of faith with his creatures."—PRICE's *Mohamedan History*, vol. ii. page 236.

[m] The character of Ahmed may be judged of from his guards. Two lions watched at the door of the chamber in which he slept. These happened to be removed on Thursday the twenty-third of Jumadee-ul-akhur, A.H. 301, when the assassins entered and slew him. Ahmed, we are informed, received his investiture from the Caliph Mokhtuffy Billah, which proves that the kings of the Samanee family continued nominal dependants on the sovereign Lords of the Faithful.

rious and cruel prince, who contended with his uncle, his brothers, and other relations, for the extensive possessions of his father, more by intrigues at the Court of Bagdad than by arms. After a reign of seven years, he was murdered by his domestics; and his son, Nasr, then eight years of age, was placed upon the throne of Bokharah and Khorassan. This prince was more fortunate than his father. After a variety of petty wars with his rebellious generals, he at last not only obtained undisputed possession of all his grandfather's territories, but added to them the important towns of Rhe, Isfahan, and Koom, in Irak; to the conquest of which he was invited, by the Caliph Mocktadir soliciting him to expel his rebellious lieutenants [n]. Nasr enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. He died at Bokharah, leaving all his territories in peace. He is celebrated for many virtues, particularly for his generosity and justice. He has obtained great fame as the munificent patron of Rudiki [o], a Persian bard, who, though born blind, soon attained, from his genius, the highest rank at the court of this liberal ruler. History gives no instance of a poet so honoured. His establishment was raised to a level with that of the proudest

[n] The chief of these was Faick, or Fattack, who had rebelled and seized Rhe: he was soon defeated; and Ameer Nasr, after taking Rhe, proceeded soon after to the conquest of Koom and Isfahan.

[o] The following translation of a few lines from his Dewan, or collection of odes, by the late Doctor Leyden, is at once characteristic of Rudiki's manner, and of the taste of my deceased friend:

> "He who my brimming cup shall view
> In trembling radiance shine,
> Shall own the liquid ruby's hue
> Is match'd by rosy wine.
>
> "Each is a gem from Nature's hand,
> In living lustre bright:
> But one congeals its radiance bland,
> One swims in liquid light.
>
> "Ere you can touch, its sparkling dye
> Has left a splendid stain:
> Ere you can drink, the essence high
> Floats giddy through the brain."

nobles; he was served by two hundred slaves, and when he attended his patron in the field, his equipage was conveyed by four hundred camels.

Nasr was succeeded by his son, the Ameer Noah, whose life was a series of petty wars. They were principally with one of his own generals, Abou Ali, by whom he was both deposed and restored: at last, however, he obliged that chief to fly his dominions. But Abou Ali, aided by the influence of one of the Dilemee family, then vizier to the Caliph Mothi, obtained a grant of Khorassan, of which he took possession, and struck money in the name of the caliph. The Ameer Noah died at this period, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Malick, who was killed by a fall from his horse when playing at ball[p]. His brother and successor, Munsoor, compelled the Dilemee ruler of Fars and Irak to pay him an annual tribute of one hundred and fifty thousand dinaars[q] of gold; and the peace was cemented by his marriage with the daughter of Rukun-u-Doulah, the reigning prince of that family[r]. Munsoor died after a reign of fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son, Adul Kassim Noah, generally termed Ameer Noah the Second, whose reign was marked by extraordinary vicissitudes. He was obliged to fly from Bokharah, to save himself from a combination formed against his power by two of his most powerful nobles[s], who invited Bograh Khan, a ruler of Eastern

[p] The name of this game is *chougan*. It is played on horseback on a level plain. Two pillars are fixed near each other in the centre of the play-ground, and the game is won when the ball is struck between them. It is a kind of horse golf: there are often ten or twelve on each side. The clubs they strike with are crooked, and so short, that the rider must lean near the ground when he strikes. The horse must be at the gallop when the blow is made.

[q] About sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds.

[r] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[s] The names were Faik and Abou Aly Sumjoovee. The former had been expelled from his government of Bulkh and Herat on account of his frequent rebellions: the latter, when he joined in this conspiracy, was governor of Khorassan.

Tartary[t], to attack his capital; but his fortunes were retrieved by the sudden death of this formidable enemy[u], soon after he had taken Bokharah, on which the army returned to their own country.

This event enabled the Ameer Noah to regain his power, and compelled his rebellious nobles to fly to Khorassan, where they solicited and obtained aid from the ruler[x] of Irak and Fars. Unequal to a contest with their combined forces, Noah sought the support of Subuctageen, a chief of high reputation, who had established a principality at Ghizni. That noble, who already exercised the power of a sovereign, was proud to be the ally of a monarch, to whose family his predecessors had owed allegiance; and the accession of so powerful an auxiliary encouraged the Ameer to march against his enemies. He encountered them near Herat, and obtained a signal victory, memorable in oriental history from being the first field of the son of Subuctageen, who gave an earnest on that glorious day of the great fame he was destined to acquire, as Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni. The ruler of Bokharah amply rewarded his friends. Subuctageen was honoured with the title of Nasr-u-deen, or "the victorious of the faith;" and his son, with that of Syf-u-doulah, or "the sword of the state." But to the latter a more substantial favour was added. The young Mahmood was made Governor of Khorassan, and proceeded with his father to take possession of that province, which he held during the life[y] of Ameer Noah[z].

[t] Bograh Khan was the ruler of the Turkish tribe of Hoekee; his possessions extended over Ferghanah, Kashgar, and Khoten, to near the wall of China.

[u] He was seized with a fever in Bokharah: his physicians recommended his native air: he had made three marches homeward, when the increase of his malady compelled him to halt, and he died.

[x] Fakhr-u-Doulah, one of the Dilemee princes.

[y] Subuctageen afterwards marched to aid the Ameer, who was threatened by Elij Khan, the son of Bograh Khan. This invasion was prevented by an unwise and inglorious peace, by which the able and restless Faick, who had excited Elij Khan, was made Governor of Samarcund.

[z] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

After his death, his son, Munsoor, occupied the throne for little more than a year, which was marked by disgrace and misfortune. He first fled before those rebellious nobles who had opposed his father, and afterwards was degraded by them into a mere pageant. One of the first steps which they took in his name, after they had reduced him to this condition, was to appoint a new ruler of Khorassan. But Mahmood, who had succeeded by the death of his father to all his power, soon compelled the governor whom they had nominated to fly; and on hearing that they had deprived Munsoor of sight, and elevated his brother, Abdul Malik, to the throne, he sent a secret envoy warning the latter against their designs; but Abdul Malik was also a pageant in the hands of ambitious men: they made him advance to Merv to encounter Mahmood, by whom his army was defeated with great loss. The miserable prince fled to Bokharah, where Elij Khan, who had added Khaurizm to his other possessions, soon arrived: as he pretended friendship, and seemed the only support left to the sinking dynasty of Saman, he was admitted into the city, of which he instantly made himself master, seizing the unfortunate Abdul Malik, and sending him bound to his capital of Ourgunge, where his days terminated. Muztunza, the only remaining son of the Ameer Noah, fled, disguised in a female habit, from Bokharah to Maver-ul-Naher. The troops of Elij Khan pursued him; and he in vain sought safety from the Arab tribe of Badeah, whose chief, Mehrou, an officer in the service of Mahmood, slew him [a]. This barbarous act did not pass unpunished. The prince he served put Mehrou to death, lest his name should be stained with the imputation of having connived at the murder of the last prince of a family to whom he owed such obligations [b].

[a] Some authors state, that this young prince put himself at the head of banditti, and continued for seven years to subsist by plunder. This story would better suit the first than the last of the House of Saman. I have therefore rejected it, and followed the account given in the Zeenut-ul Tuarikh.

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

The flatterers of the family named Dilemee [c] from their native village, Buyah from one of their ancestors, trace their descent to the ancient kings of Persia; but the first of this race whom history notices, was a fisherman of Dilem. His name was Abul-Shujah-ul-Buyah. Some authors state, that he entered into the service of Makan, the governor of his native province: when that chief was subdued by Asfar, another ambitious noble, the sons of Buyah became attached to the fortunes of the conqueror [d]. Their rise must have been very rapid; for we find, a few years after, when Muravij, the son and successor of Asfar, was assassinated, that Aly Buyah, the eldest son of Shujah, was in the command of the chief part of his army, with which he encountered and defeated Yakoot, one of the caliph's lieutenants, and governor of Isfahan; and by the immense plunder that he obtained, he became at once a leader of reputation and power.

After this, Aly Buyah pursued Yakoot into Fars, defeated him again, and took possession of the whole of that province, and of Kerman, Khuzistan, and Irak. He was afterwards tempted, by the weak and distracted state of the caliphate, to a still higher enterprise: accompanied by his two brothers [e], he marched to Bagdad. The Caliph Mustukhfy fled, but was soon induced to return; and his first act was to heap honours on the occupiers of his capital. Aly Buyah, on agreeing to pay annually six hundred thousand dinaars of gold [f], was appointed viceroy of Fars and Irak, with the rank of Ameer-ul-Omrah [g], and the title of Umud-u-doulah [h]. Equal rank was given to his younger brother, Ahmed, who received the title of Muaz-u-doulah [i],

[c] They are sometimes called the Dialamah, which is the plural of Dilem.

[d] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[e] Hussun and Ahmed: according to some authors, the youngest brother, Ahmed, conducted the first expedition to Bagdad.

[f] About two hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds.

[g] Chief of the nobles.

[h] Pillar of the state.

[i] The dignity of the state.

and was nominated vizier to the caliph; an appointment involving the government of Bagdad and the few provinces subject to it, with the conduct of all affairs arising from the little influence retained by the caliphs over the usurpers of their extensive nominal dominions[k]. Hussun, who was the second brother, received the title of Rukun-ul-doulah, pillar of the state, and, during the life of Aly Buyah, acted under him.

The rise of this family was in a great degree owing to the treasures of Yakoot, the former Governor of Fars, which accident gave to Ali Buyah. We are told, that when reclining on a couch in the palace of Yakoot, at Shiraz[l], he observed more than once a snake show its head through a crevice in the wall and retire again. Determined to get rid of so dangerous a visiter, he ordered that part of the wall to be thrown down; the workmen had proceeded but a short way with their task, when they found hidden boxes of treasure, which proved to be the wealth of his predecessor. According to Persian authors, this was not the only instance of his good fortune. One day a tailor, who had served the former governor, had come to make him some clothes; he happened to call for a stick, meaning a measure; but the guilty conscience of the tailor gave another interpretation to the word, and he exclaimed, as he threw himself on the ground, "Be merciful! do not flog me to death, and I will discover all the cloth belonging to Yakoot!" The surprised Aly Buyah bade him do so; and the man produced seventeen chests of cloth belonging to the former governor, which he had purloined at his flight[m]. This discovery caused a strict scrutiny, which led to many others of a similar nature; and Aly Buyah became possessed of the wealth and means which enabled him to enlarge his power. His elder brother Murdaveenee, en-

[k] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh gives this anecdote, which is also related by every other Persian historian of this period.

[m] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh and Khondemir.

vious of his good fortune, advanced to attack him; but he was slain by his own servants, and left Aly Buyah, without a rival, in possession of all the countries from Khorassan to the vicinity of Bagdad. He was ably supported by his brother Muaz-u-doulah: after dethroning the Caliph Mustukhfy, he continued through life to exercise absolute authority[n] over Mothi, the son of Mocktadir, whom he elevated to the throne. Aly Buyah had no children. When he found his end approach, he requested that his brother, Rukun-u-doulah, whom he had appointed to manage the province of Irak, would send his eldest son, Azud-u-doulah, to aid him in the discharge of his duties. The young chief was received at Shiraz with the most distinguished honours by his dying uncle, who immediately placed him in charge of all public affairs. Ali Buyah lived only a year after the arrival of his nephew. No prince was ever more deeply regretted by his subjects: he had used the favours of fortune with singular moderation; and the good understanding on which he lived with his brothers, Muaz-u-doulah and Rukun-u-doulah, while it promoted his success, is a proof of that kindness and generosity of temper which all Persian historians have ascribed to him. He was succeeded by his brother, Rukun-u-doulah; who, however, continued to reside in Irak, and gave the charge of affairs in Fars to his eldest son, Azud-u-doulah; and at his death, though he divided his territories among his sons, he commanded they should all yield obedience to that prince. A few years after Azud-u-doulah obtained the rule, his uncle at Bagdad died, and left his power to a son of very inferior ability.

[n] Muaz-u-doulah, who was a bigoted adherent to the sect of Aly, when his power was fully established, commanded the first ten days of the month Mohurrum to be set aside for a general mourning over the fate of Hussein, the son of Aly, who was slain on the plains of Kerbelleh, in the sixtieth year of the Hejirah. The commemoration of this event has been religiously observed ever since by the Sheahs; and this annual ceremony has tended in no slight degree to keep alive their hatred against the Soonees.

One of the first acts of this young prince[o] was to quarrel with his cousin; and a contest ensued, which terminated in the loss of his life, and the establishment of Azud-u-doulah as vizier to the Caliph, and ruler of Fars and Irak. This great man enjoyed till his death this extensive power over a part of Arabia and the finest provinces of Persia. He was treated by neighbouring princes as a sovereign[p], which he in fact was; although respect for the prejudices of the age made him call himself Slave of the Lord of the Faithful, and appear only as the minister of the pageant Caliph. He greatly improved the capital of the empire, carefully repairing all the damages it had sustained from sieges. He discontinued the tax on religious pilgrims, and restored the sacred buildings at Medinah, Kerbelah, and Nujuff to their former splendour. He also built hospitals for the poor in Bagdad; to which he appointed physicians with regular salaries; and purchased a sufficient quantity of medicines for annual consumption[q]. Nor was he less attentive to the prosperity of Irak and Fars than of Arabia; all the evils which they had suffered from preceding wars were repaired under his long and happy rule. The most remarkable of his works remaining is a dyke over the river Kur[r], which passes through the plain of Murdasht. This dyke, situated at a short distance from the ruins of Persepolis, gives water to fertilize the whole country near it; it is called Bund-Ameer, or the dyke of the ameer, or lord; and this name has been given by early travellers to the

[o] The name of this prince was Izz-u-doulah, which means "the pride, or glory, of the state."

[p] We are told that he obtained by an artifice an embassy from the Greek Emperor of Constantinople. A secret agent, disguised as a merchant, pretended to discover in that city an old fragment of writing, which contained a prophecy foretelling the future greatness of Azud-u-doulah, and imposed on the credulity and superstition of a weak court.

[q] In the History of the Arabians, one hospital only is mentioned: this is said to have been large, and amply endowed by its princely founder.—Vol. iv. p. 61.

[r] This is the name given to it by Khondemir, and some other authors.

river itself. Historians, however partial to the memory of this prince, have imputed three severe, if not oppressive, measures to him. He raised the land-tax, laid a duty on cattle, and created a revenue from a monopoly of the sale of ice; a cheap and essential article of enjoyment in a country subject to such great vicissitudes of climate.

We are informed by Persian historians, that the reigning caliph read the prayers at the funeral[s] of this good and great man, who is one of the few characters, amid the vast catalogue of oriental despots, on whose name we can dwell with pleasure. He long possessed the authority of a sovereign; during the latter period of his rule, all the honours due to a monarch were paid to him by contemporary princes and by his own subjects. In the former, this conduct proceeded from respect to his character and power; in the latter, it was the result of gratitude and affection; and both were countenanced by the mandate of his nominal master, the Lord of the Faithful, who commanded that his virtuous and beloved vizier should be addressed and treated as a king. Except his first struggle with his weak and ambitious cousin[t], and the expulsion of one of his brothers[u] from Khorassan, of which he had usurped the government, we do not find him engaged in any war of consequence; and he cultivated all the arts of peace with an ardour showing the sincerity of his disposition to promote the happiness of those whom he governed. His name is still fondly cherished in a country, over which he endeavoured, through a reign of thirty-four years, to diffuse prosperity and joy. But in a dynasty of

[s] There is a difference of no less than twenty years between the date of his death in the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh and the History of the Arabians; but this error exists throughout the history of the Dilemee princes. The History of the Arabians is very incorrect: in it, Azud-u-doulah is termed the son of Muaz-u-doulah; from this, I am disposed to think the author has confounded him with his cousin, Izz-u-doulah.

[t] Izz-u-doulah.

[u] The name of this brother was Fukhr-u-doulah, or "the illustrious of fortune."

absolute rulers, we seldom find a succession of virtues and able men; and this prince was the last of his family entitled to our notice. His power and possessions became, from the moment of his death, a subject of contest between his brothers, sons[x], and nephews. It would be a waste of time to dwell on such a scene. After a lapse of thirty years, we find his nephew, Mujid-u-doulah[y], (who had for a short time governed Khorassan, and assumed a regal state,) taken in Rhe, by the victorious Mahmood of Ghizni. Mujid-u-doulah had been raised, by the death of his father, when very young, to the government of that city and the surrounding country. During his minority, all the power was in the hands of his mother, who was of high birth, and had great energy of character. Mahmood commanded one of his officers to inform this lady, that she must submit to his authority, or prepare for war. "Had such a message been sent," replied this heroine, "in the life of my deceased lord, it must have occasioned great embarrassment. That is not now the case. I know Sultan Mahmood; and, from his character, am assured he will never undertake an expedition without calculating all the chances. If he attack and conquer a weak woman, where is the glory of such an achievement? If he be repulsed, the latest ages will hear of the shame of such a defeat[z]!" Mahmood, swayed by the above reasons, or by others of more weight, did not prosecute his designs upon Rhe till Mujid-u-doulah was of age, and had assumed the government. He then advanced an army, by the leader of which the prince was deluded to an interview, and seized: his treasures and dominions passed into the hands of Sultan Mahmood; who sent him and his family prisoners to Ghizni. From that period, the power of this dynasty was limited to Fars and Kerman;

[x] To his eldest son, Sumeanee-u-doulah, the final destruction of the once famous Istakhr, or Persepolis, is ascribed.

[y] This chief was the son of Fukhr-u-doulah, the brother of Azud-u-doulah.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

[z] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

but they also exercised authority over Irak-Arab, or the territories immediately around Bagdad, as they retained the high office of Ameer-ul-Omrah[a] till the capital of the caliphs was plundered by Toghrul-beg-Seljookee, who seized Malick Rehim Dilemee, then vizier, and kept him prisoner till his death. For nearly forty years more, we find some of this family governors of Shiraz, under the Seljookee kings; and the last[b] of the race of Dilemee mentioned in history, died in the service of Alparselan.

While the dynasties of Saman and of Dilemee divided the empire of Persia, many chiefs maintained themselves in small principalities; which they preserved by balancing between these two powerful families. Among these the House of Shemgur[c], whose capital was first Rhe, and afterwards Jirjan, in Khorassan, was one of the principal, and it is consequently noticed in all histories of this age. At the death of this chief, he was succeeded by his son, Besitoon, of whom nothing particular is related. The next of this family, Kaboos[d], has obtained a reputation, which he appears to merit, from the generous courage with which he maintained the laws of hospitality, when one of the family of Dilemee, who had thrown himself on his protection, was pursued by the vengeance of his powerful brothers[e]. Kaboos not only refused the largest rewards, but endured the loss of all his possessions, and shared for a period a proud exile with his guest, whom he at last restored to power; and he deemed himself repaid by the gratitude of the prince whom he had so nobly protected[f]. Kaboos is

[a] Chief of the nobles.

[b] In this short history of the Dilemee, I have followed the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh; but I have consulted other Persian authors, and find no substantial variation in the facts recorded, though some of the dates differ slightly.

[c] He was originally an officer in the army of the Ameer Noah.

[d] His title was Shems-ul-Muluk, or "the candle of the kingdom."

[e] Muaz-u-doulah and Azud-u-doulah. Both sought to seize their rebellious brother, Fukhr-u-doulah, to whom Kaboos gave protection.

[f] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

celebrated for his extraordinary wisdom and learning. His words were repeated as maxims; and he appears, in all accomplishments[g], to have been advanced beyond the age in which he lived. But his virtue was stern and severe, and not calculated to gain the affections of men who, living in troubled times, desired to make amends, by indulgence in all their passions, for the dangers and vicissitudes they were continually exposed to[h]; and Kaboos was slain by his own mutinous officers, whose excesses he had probably desired to restrain. He was succeeded by his son, Manucheher, who submitted to Sultan Mahmood; but that monarch not only continued him in his family possessions, but gave him his daughter in marriage[i]. The chiefs of this family have been classed with kings; but they have no pretensions to such distinction. By taking advantage of a period of general weakness and distraction, they established, for a few years, an independent rule over certain districts; but their power had never either solidity or magnitude.

[g] Rozut-ul-Suffa.

[h] Our great philosopher, Bacon, when speaking of that love of dissipation by which soldiers are distinguished, observes, "I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures."

[i] This chief died in the year of the Hejirah 462. He was succeeded in the government of Jirjan by his son, Ghilan Shah.

CHAPTER VII.

ACCOUNT OF THE SULTANS OR MONARCHS OF GHIZNI.

The history of the first monarchs of Ghizni, whose rule was established for a short period over a great part of Persia, affords a more pleasing subject than the preceding dynasties; for that absolute power which in Europe is softened by the usages and the knowledge of a civilized age into a moderate government, has, among the nations of Asia, always the same character, and nearly the same course. The few shades of distinction which exist, depend chiefly upon the personal disposition and power of the despot, and often more on the latter than the former: for no country can be happy or prosperous if exposed to continual war; and such appears always to have been the state of every eastern kingdom, the sovereign of which was not powerful. It follows, that the greatest happiness which the mass of the population can obtain under such a government must have its source in the power and fame of the monarch; and the comparative blessings which his subjects enjoy form the substantial ground of their pride in such rulers. We must not, therefore, solely refer to base and venal motives, that flattery which they bestow on them. Insensible to the value of liberty, ignorant of all other forms of government, they naturally prize that state of their own in which they find most security and enjoyment; and are not only content, but proud to humble themselves before one exalted man, when they see in his power a certain refuge against more intolerable and oppressive evils.

Abustakeen[k], one of the chief nobles of Bokharah[l], hav-

[k] He is often called Abestagi, and sometimes Aleptekeen, or Alputtekeen: the former, Major Price thinks the true reading. I have used the one most familiar to the European reader.

[l] He was governor of Khorassan when Munsoor was elevated to the

ing renounced his allegiance, retired with his followers to Ghizni, then an insignificant town, to escape from the resentment of Munsoor, a prince of the house of Saman, whose elevation to the throne he had opposed, on the ground of his extreme youth[m]. It does not appear that his followers at first amounted to more than seven or eight hundred; but with these he defeated a considerable force sent to attack him; and by this and other successes, established a petty principality, of which Ghizni[n] became the capital. When he died, his son Isaak succeeded him; but that weak and dissipated prince did not long survive his father, and the suffrage of all ranks gave the rule to Subuctageen, a man of Turkish[o] descent, who, according to some historians[p], was bought as a slave by Abustakeen; while others, with more probability, make him a common soldier of his personal guards, and as such entitled to the name of "the slave of the king[q]," which, among eastern nations, is deemed a distinction. But the descent of such a man is of little consequence, except that his fame rises in proportion to the lowness of his origin. He had been promoted and employed by Abustakeen, and his character obtained him the support of all the adherents and officers of that chief who deemed his power essential to their security and their advancement.

throne; and is said by several authors to have maintained himself in the rule of that province for some years.

[m] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[n] This city is situated about sixty miles directly south of Cabul. The climate is good, but, from its elevated site, the winter is very severe. This once famous capital is now reduced to a miserable town, with about a thousand poor families in it.—ELPHINSTONE'S *MSS.*

[o] The expression in the original is *Turk* and *Tajuck*, which implies men of the most opposite classes; Turk signifying a Turkish-born soldier, and Tajuck the opposite.

[p] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[q] Gholam, or slave, has been always given as a title to the personal guards of eastern monarchs. If the son of the first nobleman in Persia is admitted among the guards, he claims the envied title of Gholam-e-Shah, or "the slave of the king."

Nor were they mistaken; the country of Ghizni under his administration attained to the greatest prosperity. He enlarged its dominions, established the fame of its warriors, and became the first of a family which, though of short duration, outshone at one time the glory of the proudest Asiatic monarchs.

Subuctageen's reign had nearly closed immediately after it commenced. He had aided a chief named Tegha to recover the town of Bust[r], from which he had been expelled. Tegha, in return, agreed to pay tribute, and to consider himself an adherent of the ruler of Ghizni; but soon afterwards showed a reluctance to fulfil his engagements. Subuctageen, when they were hunting together, took an opportunity of expostulating; and Tegha, irritated by some expressions, suddenly assailed him, and gave him a severe wound before he had time to defend himself. Their followers, seeing their chiefs engaged, rushed to a combat, which was maintained for some time with great fury, but terminated in the flight of Tegha and his attendants to Bust: it was immediately attacked by Subuctageen, and soon fell into his possession; but its governor escaped from the just indignation of the conqueror.

The reputation which Subuctageen obtained by his conduct on this occasion, was soon eclipsed by the glory which attended his holy wars (as they were termed) on the infidels of India. To attack that country he was invited by the desire of fame, of plunder, and of fulfilling the commands of the prophet by converting or destroying idolaters. He defeated Jypaul[s] then ruler of northern India, took Cabul, and overran the fine province of the Punjaub[t], in his first

[r] It is often written Bost: and is the ancient Abeste. The Heirmund flows past this city, which is about three hundred miles from Ghizni.

[s] His name is sometimes written Chipaul.

[t] It is called Punjaub, or "five waters," from the five celebrated rivers that flow through it, the Sutledge, the Beeah, the Ravee, the Chunab, and the Behut; which are the ancient Hysudrus, Hyphasis, Hydraotes, Acesi-

expedition[u]. In his second, he was still more successful, and defeated the Indian monarch[x] in a great action. After this, he accepted the submission of Jypaul, who agreed to make him valuable presents, and to pay an annual tribute to the princes of Ghizni. The zeal of young Mahmood, the son of Subuctageen, spurned at these offers; he vehemently urged his father to enter into no compact with idolaters; whom, he said, it was pious to destroy. The Indian prince, when he heard of Mahmood's intolerance, bade him beware how he drove brave men to despair[y]. "My followers," he said, "who appear so mild and submissive, will, if they see no escape, or are irritated beyond their power of sufferance, soon change their character: they will murder their wives and children, burn their habitations, loosen their hair, and encounter your army with all the energy of men, whose only desire is revenge and death[z]." Subuctageen knew

nas, and Hydaspes. The climate is exceedingly healthy; and the country is highly cultivated and very populous. It is at present inhabited by the Sikhs, a warlike nation, distinguished by the singularity of their religion and usages.

[u] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[x] The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh gives the same fabulous account as the Indian historian, Ferishta, of the causes of Subuctageen's victory. "There was," it states, "a clear well in the Indian camp of such a quality, that the effects produced by any impure substance cast into it were terrible. Subuctageen sent a secret emissary to throw dirt into this mysterious fountain. The moment his order was obeyed, the sky was overcast, and a dreadful tempest arose. The coldness of the air was so excessive, that the tear was congealed in the eye, and the blood became stagnant in the veins. Both armies suffered; but the delicate Indians ten times as much as the hardy warriors of Ghizni."

Fables of this description meet general belief, both among Hindoos and Mahomedans. The former are more pleased to refer disgrace to the impiety than the cowardice of their ancestors; and the latter glory in any tale which supports their faith, by proclaiming them favourites of the Almighty.

[y] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[z] This speech conveys a true picture of the character of the Hindoos of the military class; and the history of India abounds in examples of their acting in the manner here described. When with the army of Nizam-u-doulah in the year 1790, I witnessed a scene of this kind. The Hindoo Rajah of Deudroog, a hill fort in the Deckan, was at war with the Rajah

that there was truth in this, and refused to listen to his son: but the policy of Mahmood's suggestion was confirmed by the conduct of the faithless Hindoo, who, taking advantage of the retreat of Subuctageen to Ghizni, confined the officers left to receive the tribute, and refused to fulfil any of his engagements. Aware of what he had to expect, he assembled troops from every quarter of his extensive dominions; which appear, from the chiefs who joined him, to have included all the countries from the Indus to the province of Malwa in one direction, and to Bengal in another [a]. But this vast army, which, we are told, exceeded three hundred thousand men, was attacked and defeated by Subuctageen, whose force did not amount to a fifth of their numbers. The cavalry of Ghizni assailed this army by repeated charges of small divisions, which, acting in a circle, alternately retreated and advanced [b]; and so harassed the enemy, that they at last fled, leaving an immense booty to the conqueror. The latter took possession of the fine country of Paishawur, and the province of Lumghan [c];

of Solapore. The Nizam, to whom both were tributaries, aided the latter; and the French corps under Raymond, in that prince's service, were detached a few miles from our camp to take Deudroog. After making a breach, they stormed; and we heard a heavy fire of cannon and musketry through the greatest part of the night, which terminated in an explosion. We learnt, next morning, that the gallant rajah, after defending the breach to the last, and being severely wounded, retired, with a few surviving adherents, to a fortified palace, where he had lodged all his women and children. It had been undermined, that, if driven to despair, he might avoid a disgrace, which he deemed far more terrible than death. The hour was arrived: he ordered the train to be fired; and the explosion left not a limb of the family of the Rajah of Deudroog for his enemies to triumph over. Dow, in his History of India, has recorded many similar instances; but the affecting relation given by Orme of the massacre at Boobilee, when that place was assailed by the French under the justly celebrated Bussy, is the most authentic and characteristic example of the action of this brave spirit of resistance.

[a] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[b] This manœuvre is still practised by the Persian cavalry, who use their muskets as the Parthians did their bows, in firing at the enemy the moment they commence their retreat.

[c] This is probably Lingham, a district now subject to the King of Cabul.

which, combined with his former possessions of Ghizni and Cabul, gave him a kingdom extending from Khorassan to the Punjaub.

Subuctageen, although he had not assumed the name of a sovereign, had attained royal power some time before he was called upon by Ameer Noah Samanee to aid him against his rebellious subjects; and even the profession of allegiance from such a chief must have been gratifying to the weak ruler of Bokharah. Historians inform us, that Subuctageen was so overcome by his feelings at his first interview with Noah, in whom he beheld the representative of the royal family of Saman, that, by an involuntary impulse[d], he threw himself from his horse, and kissed the stirrup of the young prince[e]: but this seeming act of submission, while it gave popularity to Subuctageen, substantially advanced his power, which, after the battle of Herat, was increased by a grant of Khorassan[f]; he at the same time received the high title of Nasr-u-deen, or "the victorious of the faith;" a name by which he is frequently mentioned in Persian history.

Subuctageen died soon after; and the last act of his life appears the only one which can impeach the prudence and

It borders on Paishawur, a beautiful and fertile valley on the Indus. The town of Paishawur is still of some magnitude, having a hundred thousand inhabitants.—Elphinstone's *MSS.*

[d] If we credit Ferishta, we must believe that Subuctageen had a feeling heart. He is described by that author as having one day, when a private horseman in the service of Abustakeen, taken a fawn; but, as he was carrying it home, he happened to look round, and saw the mother following in evident affliction. The rude Tartar gave way to the momentary impulse of feeling, and restored the fawn to its dam; and, as they bounded from him, his imagination interpreted the looks of alarm which they cast behind them to be those of gratitude. The scene haunted his dreams, and he was rewarded with a vision of his prophet, who promised him sovereign power, as the reward of the mercy he had shown to an innocent and defenceless animal.—Dow's *Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 34.

[e] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[f] Though this province was given to his son, Mahmood, it was substantially an addition to his territories, or at least to those of the family.

good conduct he had uniformly displayed through a long and prosperous reign. Unmindful of the superior right as well as character of his eldest son, Mahmood, who was employed in the government of Khorassan, he bequeathed[g] his kingdom to Ismail, a younger son, who, being constantly at court, had probably won on the weakness of age so far, as to induce his father to commit this injustice. Ismail attempted to confirm his power by a profuse expenditure of his father's treasures, which he scattered with an indiscriminate hand among the soldiery: but his injudicious generosity, instead of creating attachment, excited a spirit of rapacity and turbulence among veterans accustomed to regularity and order: the moment Mahmood advanced, they deserted the weak Ismail, who, after a vain attempt at resistance in Ghizni, was compelled to throw himself on the clemency of his brother. Mahmood had anxiously sought to avoid this unnatural contest; he had pointed out his claims as senior; his means of establishing them; and had even proposed a division of territory; but the vain and infatuated prince would listen to no terms, and precipitated his own ruin. In his conduct to his captive brother, Mahmood considered more what was due to himself, than what his prisoner merited; and Ismail, though deprived of liberty, was treated through life with humanity and indulgence.

To detail the actions of Sultan Mahmood would fill a volume; yet they cannot easily be abridged. He succeeded to the great power of his father at a ripe age, when his character was matured by experience, both in war and government. His ruling passions were devotion to religion and love of glory; they had become more ardent from restraint, and blazed forth on his accession to the throne with a splendour which (to use the words of a Mahomedan author) filled the whole world with terror and admiration[h].

[g] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.
[h] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

Mahmood felt or affected an attachment to Cawder, the reigning Caliph of Bagdad; and rejected all the advances made by his rival, the ruler of Egypt[1], whose family, on the pretext of their descent from Fatimah, the daughter of the prophet, had assumed the proud title of Lord or Commander of the Faithful. Cawder, sensible of the importance of such a friend and supporter as Mahmood, praised his pious zeal, and encouraged him to obtain a never-dying name in this world, and eternal happiness in the next, by spreading the religion of Mahomed. This eastern pope granted to the earnest solicitation of the temporal sovereign the titles of "the right hand," and "the protector of the faith." The prince promised, in return, that his sword should through life be sacred to the service of the religion he loved; and it would be difficult to compute the millions whom he forced, by that powerful instrument of conversion, to adopt its tenets. After securing the friendship of the caliph, settling the governments of Khorassan and Rhe, and connecting himself by the most intimate ties with the ruler of Tartary, Ilij Khan, whose daughter he married, Mahmood commenced that religious war upon the idolaters of India, which occupied the greatest part of his reign.

In his two first expeditions to India he was completely successful; he not only defeated his enemies, but established his government over almost the whole of that country now known as the Punjaub. Jypaul, who had opposed Subuctageen, took the field against his son; but his army was defeated; and the superstitious but patriotic prince determined, by an heroic sacrifice of his own life, to propitiate the gods whom he adored, and thus save his country

[1] The first of this family was Abul Kassim Mahomed, the son of Abdullah, called Mehdy, who traced his descent from Ismail, the eldest son of Jaffier Saduck, the sixth Imam. Hence they are often termed *Ismalians*. The first of this dynasty established himself in Egypt in the year of the Hejirah 296. It was finally destroyed in 567 by the celebrated Salah-u-deen.

from the ruin which threatened it[k]. He delivered over the government to his son; and mounting a funeral pile, prayed that his death amid the flames might expiate those sins which he conceived had drawn divine vengeance on his unhappy kingdom. We derive our information of this event from sources which cannot be doubted[l]; and the conduct of Jypaul on this extraordinary occasion is truly characteristic of that complete devotion to the religion and usages of their ancestors, which distinguish the higher classes of Hindoos.

Anundpal, the son of this devoted sovereign, was not more successful than his father: Mahmood, in two invasions[m], defeated the Indian army, and became master of the province of Mooltan[n]. He would probably have subdued all Hindostan, if he had not been compelled to defend his own dominions, attacked by Ilij Khan, who, unable to resist the temptation offered by the absence of Mahmood, had sent two armies to invade Khorassan. They were soon driven back by the Sultan of Ghizni; and Ilij Khan, provoked at this disgrace, advanced across the Oxus with his whole army, which was joined by Cawder Khan, Prince of Khoten[o], at the head of fifty thousand horse. Mahmood

[k] Dow's Translation of Ferishta, vol. I. p. 45.

[l] Ibid.

[m] In the year of the Hejirah 394, only a part of his army can have been employed in the attack of India, as it was in that year that he subdued Kuliph, Prince of Seistan, the last of the family of Ben Leis.

[n] One of the rajahs of this province whom he attacked was named Bajerow: he took the fort of Bhatteah from this prince.

[o] The town and province of Khoten is situated in the part of Tartary known in eastern history as the kingdom of Kashgar, and familiar to European geographers by the name of Little Bucharia. Khoten was formerly of some importance, and its chiefs are often mentioned. It was conquered, with Kashgar, Yarkund, and other provinces in the same quarter, by the Chinese in A.D. 1757, and now forms part of that great empire. A respectable inhabitant of Tartary, who visited the town of Khoten about twenty years ago, describes it as in a flourishing state, although inferior in size to the city of Yarkund, from which it is distant about one hundred and forty miles. Khoten is still, according to this traveller's account, celebrated for its musk.

did not hesitate to encounter this immense army, which had advanced to the vicinity of Bulkh. His right was commanded by his best general, Altoun Tash; his left by an Affghan chief, called Arsilla; he himself led the centre, by a furious attack on which Ilij Khan commenced the action. It was at first thrown into disorder by the violence of the charge; but Mahmood, alighting from his horse and mounting an elephant, from which he could be seen by his whole army, encouraged his troops by his speeches and actions, to follow him to victory or to death. The elephant appeared, we are informed, to be animated with the spirit of his master: he spread terror and confusion amid the ranks of Ilij Khan, and with one blow of his trunk struck his standard-bearer[p] to the ground. The Tartars were dispirited: the troops of Ghizni, recovering from their disorder, seconded, with a valour that nothing could resist, the heroic courage of their king. The enemy soon fled in all directions, and were pursued across the Oxus; many who had escaped the sword were drowned. The fame and fortune of Ilij Khan were destroyed by this defeat: and though he survived it four years, he never again ventured to oppose Mahmood. That monarch, who had pursued the Tartars across the Oxus, was reluctantly forced to retreat by the severity of the winter; but he did not yield to the elements until he had lost a number of his soldiers: and, impatient of inaction, he proceeded immediately to Paishawur, to punish Zabsais, a Hindoo prince, who had embraced Mahomedanism, and been raised to power as the reward of his religious profession; but who, taking advantage of Mahmood's absence, had recanted and thrown off his allegiance. This double apostate was surprised and taken by the advance guard of the army of Ghizni. He was fined in a large sum, and condemned to

[p] D'Herbelot is mistaken in saying that he killed Ilij Khan. That chief did not die till some years afterwards. D'Herbelot, indeed, contradicts himself in another passage on this subject.

remain a prisoner for life. Mahmood now returned to his capital; but marched early next season to encounter the Hindoos, who had assembled from the most distant regions of India, under the standard of Anundpal, and appeared resolved to make a desperate effort to resist the further progress of the Mahomedan conqueror. Their army, encamped near the Indus, is said to have exceeded three hundred thousand men. Mahmood appears to have regarded it with some apprehension; for he not only remained in sight for forty days without coming to action, but thought it necessary to defend his camp by a deep entrenchment. His enemies at length resolved to attack him. The trench was carried by the fury of the first assailants, and great numbers of the Mahomedans were slain; but victory, which long wavered, at length decided for Mahmood; who, however, is said to have chiefly owed this important success to the elephant of Anundpal taking fright[q], and flying with him; this event spread dismay and confusion among his troops, who instantly abandoned the field. They were pursued for two days, and above twenty thousand were slain; all the wealth of their camp, which was great, fell into the hands of the Mahomedans. Mahmood improved this success by advancing into India, destroying temples[r] and idols in his progress; but his desire of fame, as a breaker of images, does not appear to have diverted him from seizing the wealth[s] of those whom he had vanquished.

We are told by eastern writers, that on his return to Ghizni he celebrated a festival, at which he displayed to the admiring and astonished inhabitants, golden thrones magnificently ornamented, constructed from the plunder of

[q] Dow states, on the authority of a Mahomedan writer, that the report of a cannon made the animal take fright; but the period is before gunpowder was invented in Europe; and had fire-arms been then in use in Asia, we must have had other accounts of them.

[r] He destroyed, on this occasion, the celebrated Temple of Nagracote.

[s] It was in the fortress of Bheemghur, which Mahmood took on this expedition, that he found the greatest part of the immense plunder which he carried to Ghizni.

seven hundred maunds[t] of gold and silver plate, forty maunds of pure gold, two thousand maunds of silver, and twenty maunds of set jewels. In the same year he made prisoner Daud, the rebellious Governor of Mooltan, and subdued the province of Ghour, then held by the Affghan tribe of Soor, which did not yield without an obstinate resistance: their chief, Mahomed, disdaining a life over which his enemy had power, poisoned himself soon after he was made captive.

Mahmood's next expedition to India was directed against Tannaser[u], a celebrated place of Hindoo worship, about seventy miles to the north of Delhi. He does not appear to have been opposed in this invasion by Anundpal, who, reduced to the condition of a feudal lord, seems to have remained in his capital of Lahore a passive observer of an inroad he could not prevent. The Temple of Tannaser was destroyed, its celebrated idol, Jugsoom, broken, and the fragments sent to Ghizni to be converted into steps for the principal mosque, that the faithful might tread on the mutilated image of superstition, as they entered the temple of the true God. After this exploit, the army of Ghizni returned encumbered with riches and with captives. The two next years were devoted to the conquest of Cashmere, and the hilly provinces in its vicinity; a great proportion of the inhabitants, as in all the countries which Mahmood annexed to his government, were compelled to embrace the religion of their conqueror. India obtained a short respite of a year, from her indefatigable enemy being employed in settling the distant country of Khaurizm[x]; but that was

[t] Dow states that there is no maund in India under thirty-seven pounds; but the maund generally meant in Persian history is the Tabreeze, (so called from the city where it was first used,) which is not quite seven pounds weight: this renders the story more credible.

[u] This celebrated place of Hindoo worship is now the capital of a Sikh chief, who is a dependent on the British government.

[x] Major Stewart, in his excellent History of Bengal, states, that this year passed in an unsuccessful attack of Cashmere; and that Mahmood failed in

soon effected; and Mahmood immediately commenced preparations to attack the famous city of Cannouge[7]. The distance was great, and the obstacles numerous; the march itself was computed to occupy three months. Mahmood selected a hundred thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, the best soldiers of his army; and commencing his march by the route of Cashmere, continued it through the mountains, probably to avoid the broad and deep streams of the Punjaub. After he descended into the plains of Hindostan, he advanced rapidly upon Cannouge; and so remarkable was the celerity of this movement, that Korrah, its ruler, was completely surprised, and, being unable to oppose the invaders, threw himself upon the generous clemency of Mahmood, who took possession of the city, but only remained in it three days. His next conquest was Meerut[8], which is styled a great and rich principality. Among other great cities which he took and destroyed in this invasion, was Muttra[9], then, as at present, deemed by the Hindoos a holy city. He broke all the idols he found there; but the

an attempt to take the fortress of Koh Kote. It is not improbable that a part of his army was employed in this attempt, while the main body was engaged in Khaurizm.

[7] This city is supposed to be the Palibothra of the ancients, from the extent, magnificence, and grandeur, ascribed to it in Indian histories. It is situated about two miles from the Ganges, in 80° 13' east longitude, and in 27° 3' north latitude.

[8] A town in the Duab; a country between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, now in the possession of the British government. Meerut has become one of the principal military cantonments in that quarter.

[9] A city on the right bank of the Jumnah, between Delhi and Agra. It continues to be held sacred by the Hindoos. It is in the possession of the British government. There is an extraordinary and striking contrast between the conduct of Lord Lake, the commander of the army by which this place was taken, and that of Mahmood. The English general not only protected the persons, and respected the worship of its inhabitants, but ordered his own army, while they lay within the town, not to slaughter cattle, as their doing so would be deemed a sacrilege by the Hindoos. The power of the monarch of Ghizni soon passed away; that of the English will remain as long as they have the firmness and virtue to preserve those principles of wisdom, toleration, and justice on which it is established.

complete destruction of its great and solid temples was, we are told, beyond his power. It is, however, consoling to hope, that his bigotry was, in this instance, restrained by his love of the arts, as he gave, in the letters which conveyed the account of his success to Ghizni [b], the most enraptured account of the beautiful structure of these sacred edifices. He conquered, in this invasion, many forts and cities, besides those mentioned; and when he returned to his capital, his own plunder was estimated at twenty millions of dirhems [c], fifty-three thousand captives, and three hundred and fifty elephants, besides an immense number of jewels, the value of which it would have been difficult to fix. The private spoil of the army is stated to have been still greater than what came into the treasury of the sovereign.

Mahmood, as if sated with conquest, seemed for a moment bent on enjoyment; and part of the wealth he had accumulated was laid out in adorning his capital. The nobles imitated the example of their king: and Ghizni soon rivalled, in the beauty and magnitude of its public and private buildings, the proudest cities of the East. But a grand mosque, which Mahmood erected, surpassed every other edifice. The beauty of the marble of which it was built, and the superior style of the architecture, were not more admirable than the richness of the carpets and golden branch-lights with which it was ornamented: and the vanity of the monarch was flattered by hearing this favourite edifice called by the lofty, if not profane, title of "The Celestial Bride." He sent an account of his victories, written in verse, to the Caliph of Bagdad, with a variety of valuable and curious presents; and the Commander of the Faithful did not disdain to bear incense to the hero of that religion of which he was the spiritual head. The poetic eulogy on Mahmood was ordered to be publicly read at the capital of

[b] Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

[c] Four hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence.

the caliph; and all means were used that could stimulate the pride and bigotry of the conqueror to further exertions in the cause of that faith, of which he was the avowed champion. But the character of Mahmood required no such encouragement: he was sufficiently prone to enterprise; and that time which appeared given to enjoyment, was probably only spent in preparation for fresh labours. He had learnt that Korrah, the Rajah of Cannouge, had, in consequence of a treaty he had entered into with a Mahomedan prince, been attacked and slain by a combination of neighbouring chiefs. Nunda, the Rajah of Kalinjur, in Bundelcund, had been the most forward; and Mahmood, who had advanced into India to support his ally, crossed the Jumnah to attack this chief: but Nunda retreated before him; and the deep ravines and low woods of his country gave him a safety in flight, beyond what he could hope for from resistance. Mahmood subdued some forts, and compelled several small nations to adopt his religion, as he retreated toward Ghizni. He returned early next season to attack Nunda; but he appears to have been foiled in the attempts he made, during this invasion, to reduce the strong fortresses of Gwalior and Kalinjur. Mahomedan historians ascribe his having raised the siege of both to the rich ransom offered in the shape of presents by their governors; and Nunda, the rajah of the latter, is stated to have gained greatly in the favour of Mahmood, by sending him a poem which he had written in praise of his great qualities. But this flattery, which may have been acceptable, as it afforded a pretext for retreat from a hopeless enterprise, would have had little effect on the monarch of Ghizni, if he had seen a prospect of making himself master of forts, which would have completed the subjection of the countries he had so often invaded. It is not probable that he possessed any means of reducing these mountain fortifications, which, from their natural strength, have of late years confidently braved the improved science and disciplined valour of a British army[d].

[d] Gwalior, which lies in the small province of Gohud, has stood two

After his return from this expedition, Mahmood resolved on the most arduous of all his enterprises. His avarice and bigotry were alike stimulated by the reports of a rich temple in Guzerat, the priests of which boasted of the power of their famous idol, Somnauth, and attributed all the misfortunes of northern India to the wickedness and impiety of the inhabitants, and the comparative impotency of their protecting gods. Determined on the destruction of this last refuge of idolatry, as it was then termed, he commenced his march through Mooltan, and thence crossed the deserts of Joudpore[e] to Ajimere; he then directed his route to Somnauth, which is described by Persian authors as a lofty castle, situated in Guzerat on a narrow peninsula, with its three sides defended by the sea. The sultan had scarcely encamped near it, when a herald from the fort told him, that Somnauth (the name of the image they worshipped) had brought the Mahomedans before the walls of his temple that he might blast them with his wrath[f]. Mahmood smiled at the threatened vengeance of the idol, and gave orders that his army should prepare for the assault, which was made next morning at dawn with the most determined valour. The wretched Hindoos, forced from the ramparts, crowded to the temple of their idol, and implored his aid: but their applications were in vain; and the exclamation of Allah-acklbar! or "God is great!" resounding from the Mahomedan troops who had mounted the walls they had deserted, told them they must trust to their valour, not their prayers, if they desired preservation from ruin and death. Summoned by this awful warning, they rushed upon their foes with all the fury of despair. Nor were their

sieges and been twice taken by the English. The first time it was taken by assault, or rather by surprise; the second, it capitulated. It has, on both occasions, been made over to the Mahrattas. Kalinjur, the chief fortress of Bundelcund, capitulated, and is now a British fortress.

[e] Mahmood appears not to have suffered any loss in this advance. He took astonishing precautions; twenty thousand camels were laden with water.

[f] Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

efforts unavailing; they forced the soldiers of Mahmood to abandon all the advantages they had gained. Night ended the dreadful carnage, and the attack was renewed next morning with increased vehemence. Every where the Mahomedans mounted the ramparts, but every where they were cast down headlong by the Hindoos, whose eyes, we are told, were streaming with tears, while their bosoms were burning with rage. They believed themselves abandoned by the god they adored, and had no desire for life, but as it enabled them to take vengeance on the authors of their misery. Their desperate valour was successful: Mahmood drew off his dispirited troops, having resolved to raise the siege rather than hazard further disaster. But fortune seemed resolved not to desert her favourite. A Hindoo army arrived to succour Somnauth, which the king immediately resolved to attack. He had hardly commenced the action, when a considerable reinforcement under two rajahs[g] joined the Hindoos: this infused such spirits throughout their ranks, that success seemed certain. Mahmood saw the efforts of his troops become faint, and that they were on the brink of defeat: he sprang from his horse, and prostrating himself on the earth, implored God to favour one who had no desire but to advance the glory of his mighty name. In an instant he was remounted; and seizing Abdul Hussein Cherkani, one of his bravest generals, by the hand, invited him to a charge, in which they should either gain the crown of martyrdom, or a glorious victory[h]. The Mahomedans, when they saw their prince resolved not to survive defeat, determined to share his fate, and rushed again into action with a spirit that was irresistible. The Hindoos gave way in every direction; and a complete victory crowned the determined valour of Mahmood. The inhabitants of Somnauth, who had watched the battle with trembling solicitude, no sooner saw their friends put to flight, than, seized with a panic, they abandoned those walls

[g] Byram Deo and Dabislima.

[h] Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

[illegible] defended[l]. A great por-
[illegible] their families and property;
[illegible] immediately seized their town,
[illegible] and either captured or de-
[illegible] According to all authors[k], the

[illegible] recorded this celebrated expedition of
[illegible] facts: but they are seldom very
[illegible] descriptions, or on points con-
[illegible] have received the following curious
[illegible] of the Temple of Somnauth from a
[illegible] knowledge give authority to his communi-

[illegible] Soreth, a province of the peninsula of
[illegible] known under the name of Kattywar;
[illegible] for containing five inestimable bless-
[illegible]: secondly, beautiful women; thirdly,
[illegible]; and fifthly, Dawarka. Among the
[illegible] by the Hindoos, Somnauth, or Somnauth
[illegible] termed, has always been one of the most
[illegible] two miles from the sea, at the junction of
[illegible] and Sersutty, three miles to the east of
[illegible] laid down, in the most accurate charts of the
[illegible] 21° 58′, and East longitude 70° 31′.
[illegible] symbols of Mahadeo, which are said to
[illegible] to earth. The great fame of this temple
[illegible] as has been noticed, the bigotry and cupidity
[illegible]. The holy image, according to Mahomedan
[illegible] this is denied by Hindoos, who assert that the
[illegible] The temple, though despoiled of its enormous
[illegible] fame and wealth sufficient to make it an ob-
[illegible] Mahomedan princes: and Sultan Mahmood Begharah,
[illegible] the throne of Amedabad in the year of the
[illegible] Somnauth, razed the temple to the ground,
[illegible] a Mahomedan conqueror, built a mosque on
[illegible] The province of Soreth has ever since remained
[illegible] government; but the persevering piety of the Hindoos
[illegible] their rulers. The mosque has fallen into ruin;
[illegible] of a prince of the Mahratta family of Holkar,
[illegible] temple on the exact site of that which was demo-
[illegible] has been placed in this temple, which is
[illegible] to such as desire offspring; and Somnauth,
[illegible] splendour, still retains its reputation, and is
[illegible] every quarter, who pay a trifling duty to the Ma-

spoil found in the temple of Somnauth was immense; but the glory which Mahmood claimed, was the destruction of the celebrated idol, which is represented as a gigantic image[l], fifteen feet in height. The king, after giving it a blow with his mace, ordered that it should be broken, and that two fragments should be sent to Ghizni: one to be thrown at the threshold of the great mosque, the other in the court of his palace: two more were to be transmitted to Mecca and Medinah, that they might remain in these sacred cities as monuments of his pious valour[m]. At this moment, a number of brahmins came forward, and offered several millions of money if he would spare their idol. His nobles entreated Mahmood to accept the ransom; but, exclaiming that he desired the title of a breaker, not a seller, of idols, he commanded them to destroy it. A few more blows discovered an immense quantity of rich jewels concealed in the hollow parts of the image; and proved, that the priests of the temple had been actuated by other than pious motives; for these treasures were of much greater value than the sum they had offered for the ransom of their idol.

homedan ruler, for the liberty of paying their devotions at this favourite shrine.

Not only the spot on which the Temple of Somnauth stands, but its vicinity, is celebrated in the tales of Hindoo mythology. It was on the plains near it that the most celebrated battle of the Jadoos was fought. We are told, that in this action, which took place about five thousand years ago, there were six crore or sixty millions of combatants, and all were slain. About a mile from Somnauth, at a place called Bhalka, the Hindoo pilgrim is shown a solitary Peepul tree, on the banks of the Sersutty River, and is assured that it stands on the exact spot where the god, Shree Krishen, received the mortal wound from an arrow, which terminated his incarnation.

[l] I have followed Dow's Translation of Ferishta in the description of this idol. According to the Rozut-ul-Suffa, the temple which contained the image of Somnauth "was decorated by thirty-six pillars, inlaid with precious stones of the most beautiful and costly description. The image itself was of polished stone, or marble, about the height of five cubits; three above the flooring of the temple, and two beneath it."—Price's *Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. p. 288.

[m] Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

…zerat during
… hands of a
… n his agreeing
… as a vassal of
… much more in
… their advance.
… led astray three
… a guide who pre-
… ad; but who con-
… the deception he had
… Somnauth, and had
… the troops of Ghizni

… gaged in a war with a

… s then the seat of a rajah.
… ve a detailed and romantic
… n Mahmood exalted to the
… raising to power a recluse,
… salima, who had long governed
… earing prince of the same race.
… apprehensions of his powerful
… , and made him prisoner. The
… is country, by putting the prince
… therefore that he might be carried
… s less danger from his being kept
… with all his wishes; and some
… o his native country. The ruling
… is throne, where he meant to im-
… a, that when he received him from
… was conveyed to the frontier, he might
… by his horse like a slave. The day
… he was fatigued, and lay down on the
… spread a red handkerchief over his face
… staken for a piece of meat by a vulture,
… one of the prince's eyes. The usages
… being ruler with such a defect. The
… the prince and his captive changed; and
… elevated to the throne, had to walk along
… r, and was doomed to inhabit the dungeon

people in the neighbourhood of Mooltan, called Jats[p], whose fleets he encountered with success on the rivers of the Punjaub; and the same year defeated an army of the Turks of the Seljookee tribe, who had invaded his territories in Persia, and obtained several advantages over his generals. The last of his successes was the conquest of almost all Irak, which, with Rhe and other territories, he formed into a government for his son, Massoud, declaring, at the same time, that his other son, Mahomed, was heir to his throne and all his other possessions.

At the commencement of the next year, Mahmood died of the stone, with which he had been long afflicted. His life terminated in a magnificent edifice, which he had vainly called "The Palace of Felicity:" immediately before he expired, he took a last and mournful view of his army, his court, and the enormous treasures which he had accumulated by his unparalleled successes. He is said to have contemplated them with a sigh, which may have proceeded either from a sense of the vanity of all earthly glory, or from a reluctance to abandon his vast wealth and power. The character of this extraordinary prince has been given by prejudiced Mahomedan authors: justly considering him as one of the most celebrated among those heroes who have propagated their faith by the sword, they deem him worthy of every praise; but, though there can be no doubt of his great talents as a warrior, he has few claims to any other eulogium. His desire of conquest was rendered more terrible by his cruel bigotry; in every country that he subdued, the horrors of war were increased by those of religious persecution: and we have no other evidence of his good government, than the general tranquillity of his own dominions; an effect which was the consequence of his

[p] The Jats are a tribe of Hindoos, many of whom are settled in Hindostan. This race are very brave, and have attained considerable power. Many of the Hindoo rajahs belong to this tribe. They once possessed a great part of the Punjaub and Mooltan; and a large portion of the Sikhs, who at present inhabit those countries, are descended from the Jats.

great success in foreign wars, and might have proceeded as much from a dread of his severity, as from a confidence in his justice. The popular tale, which represents his vizier as pretending to know the language of birds, and explaining the liberality of an old owl, who, after wishing "Mahmood a long life," offered a hundred ruined villages as a dowry to her daughter, presents, in an eastern form, the picture of a reign more marked by desolation than improvement. History has recorded one memorable proof of his resolute justice. A poor man complained that a young noble of the court came constantly to his house at night, turned him out of doors, and slept with his wife. The monarch bade him give him notice the next time this occurred. He did so; and Mahmood went with him to his house. When he reached it, he put out a lamp that was burning, and having found the paramour, struck off his head with one blow of his scimitar. He then called for a light; and after viewing the corpse, fell on his knees and returned thanks to Heaven; after which, he bade the astonished husband bring him water, and drank an immoderate quantity. "You are surprised at my actions," said Mahmood; "but know, since you informed me of the outrage you had suffered, I have neither slept, eat, nor drunk; I conceived that no person, except one of my sons, would dare openly to commit so great a crime: resolved to do justice, I extinguished the light, that my feelings as a father might not prevent my doing my duty as a sovereign: my prayers were a thanksgiving to the Almighty, when I saw that I had not been compelled to kill one of my own offspring; and I drank, as you saw, like a man dying from thirst[q]."

Mahmood has been charged with avarice; but there appear to be no just grounds for such an accusation. His army was distinguished for its attachment to him; and that feeling can only have been produced in such men by libe-

[q] This anecdote is related, I believe, by every historian who has written the life of Mahmood.

rality. His court was splendid beyond example. The edifices he raised were grand; and he gave to learned men and poets the most liberal encouragement. It is to his love of literature, that we owe almost all that remains of the history of ancient Persia, contained in the noble epic poem of the Shah Namah, or Book of Kings; a work which must endure as long as the language in which it is written. Unfortunately for the fame of Mahmood, as a munificent patron of genius, he was persuaded by envious rivals to diminish the reward promised to Ferdosi. The bard spurned the present, and added to his poem a bitter satire on the king's want of generosity; but, after giving vent to his feelings, he thought it prudent to leave the court, and retire to his native city of Toos[r], in Khorassan. Some time elapsed before Mahmood saw the verses, and sensible, too late, of his error, he tried to retrieve his fame by sending an immense sum to the poet; but the rich present reached the gates of Toos as the body of Ferdosi was carrying to its grave, and it was rejected by his virtuous daughter, too proud to accept that wealth which had once been denied to her father[s].

The territories of Subuctageen were large: they were extended by his son, until the monarch of Ghizni stood on a level in power with Shahpoor and Nousheerwan. The limits of his vast kingdom were the provinces of Georgia and Bagdad, to the west and south-west; Bokharah and Kashgur, to the north and north-east; and Bengal and the Deckan, as far as the Indian Ocean, to the east and south-east. But the rise of this dynasty was not more rapid than its downfall, which we may date from the death of that prince to whom it owes all its lustre[t]. The successors of Mahmood merit but a short notice. His foresight had

[r] The modern Mushed.

[s] Preface to the Shah Namah.

[t] In writing the life of this prince, I have consulted every authority I could. On this, as on many other occasions, I am indebted to the great accuracy and labour of De Guignes. I have also been aided by Dow's

anticipated a contest between his sons; and his fears were confirmed by the answer of the elder, Massoud, when he asked him how he meant to behave toward his brother Mahomed: "As you did toward your brother Ismail," was the bitter reply; and the youth was true to his word. The moment he heard of his father's death, he commenced his march to Ghizni. He is said to have made a moderate offer of accommodation to his brother. He only desired to hold in independent sovereignty Irak, Rhe, and Aderbijan, and to have his name, as the elder, (for, though they were twins, Massoud was first born,) read before his brother's in the public prayers. But Mahomed refused all overtures, in the vain confidence inspired by the possession of his father's treasures and throne. He was deserted [u], however, by all his troops, and fell, after a short reign of five months, into the hands of his brother, who deprived him of sight, and placed him in close confinement. The first enterprise of Massoud was the conquest of Kutch and Mekran. He made several incursions into India, to maintain the tranquillity of those possessions which his father had subdued. The forts of Sersutty and Hassi [x] are the only conquests ascribed to him. But he had no time to attack others: all his means were required to defend himself from a formidable tribe of Tartars, called Seljookee, who had, for a considerable time past, made predatory incursions into Khorassan and other parts of his dominions, and threatened to overthrow his government. Massoud first tried to negotiate a peace with them. He had an interview with their leader, Daood, at Bulkh, and entered into a compact, by which he agreed to give these dangerous neighbours some pasture-

Translation of Ferishta and Price's Mahomedan History; and I have found the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh almost always correspond with these authorities.

[u] The first body of men that deserted him, were what Dow calls the slaves; but he has translated the words Gholam Shah erroneously. They mean, as I have before mentioned, "the guards of the king."

[x] This is probably Hansi; a fort situated to the west of Delhi, now subject to the British government.

grounds for their flocks within his territories; but their faithless conduct soon convinced him of the inefficacy of this arrangement, and that he could only obtain security from their violence and rapacity by his sword. Compelled to resort to arms, he carried on a petty war against different branches of this powerful tribe for some time with various success, until he was completely defeated in a great action fought in Khorassan. He displayed, in this battle, that valour and matchless prowess for which he was renowned[y]; but it only enabled him to save his own person: and he deemed his affairs so desperate, that he immediately collected all his treasures, and commenced his retreat toward Lahore, which he resolved to make his future capital. But Massoud had lost the control of his army: in a general mutiny[z], during the march, the vast treasures accumulated by his father were plundered by a lawless soldiery and a mob of camp followers, who after this outrage fell on each other[a]; and in the scene of confusion that ensued, some were impoverished, and others immensely enriched. When they recovered their senses, they were seized with a dread of punishment, and came to a sudden resolution of reinstating Mahomed, who was a prisoner in the camp, on the throne: thus the astonished prince found himself released from confinement and hailed as sovereign of Ghizni. Massoud, before he well knew what had passed, was seized and carried before a brother whom he had deprived of sight, but who treated him with such clemency as he could not have expected: he was only doomed to be imprisoned, and allowed to select the place of his confinement. He chose the fort of Kurri, to which he retired with his family, and remained there for several years. He was at length assassinated by Ahmed, the son of Mahomed, but without the knowledge or consent of his father. The latter is said to have wept

[y] Abul-fedha.
[z] This mutiny occurred on the banks of the river Indus.
[a] D'Herbelot.

when he heard of it, and he instantly wrote to Madood, the son of the murdered monarch, disclaiming all knowledge of so base an action; but that young prince, who was at Bulkh when the event occurred, instantly proclaimed himself king, and marched to revenge his father. He encountered his uncle's army on the Indus, defeated it, and having made Mahomed and his sons prisoners, put them all to death, except one named Rahim, who had shown kindness to Massoud in his distress.

The dynasty of Ghizni, during the reign of Madood, lost all their possessions in Persia; and their history, from this time unto their complete extinction, during above a century, presents an uninteresting and disgusting detail of petty wars, rebellions, and massacres. The chief actors in these scenes were princes of the royal family, and usurping generals. Ghizni was taken from Byram, a direct descendant from Mahmood, by Souri, a prince of Ghour[b]; but the former, favoured by the attachment of the inhabitants of his capital, recovered it, and made his enemy prisoner. Unfortunately for himself and his subjects, Byram[c] knew not how to use his victory: he sought to retaliate the disgrace he had suffered, by inflicting the most cruel punishment on his captive. He directed him to be stript, painted black, then mounted upon a lean bullock, with his face turned toward its tail, and to be paraded in that condition through the streets of Ghizni. These orders were obeyed; and Souri, after he had been exposed to all the insults which a senseless and cowardly mob could offer to a brave man, was put to death by the most cruel torture, and his head

[b] Syfudeen Souri was the brother of Kutbuddeen Mahomed, an Affghan prince of Ghour, who was son-in-law to Byram, but whom that monarch, for reasons which are not stated, put to death.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. p. 309.

[c] This prince is celebrated by almost all Mahomedan authors for his wisdom and liberality. He was a munificent patron; and both poets and historians have repaid his favours with praise.

sent as a token of triumph to Sanjar[d], the king of the Seljookian dynasty, who then ruled over Persia. Allah, sometimes called Allahudeen, the brother of Souri, no sooner learnt his fate, than he called his mountaineers to arms, and advanced toward Ghizni with a force breathing vengeance against the murderers of their prince. In vain Byram sought to intimidate them by a display of his superior numbers, or to win them by an offer of peace. It was not merely to revenge the death of Souri, but to punish the ignominy with which their chief had been treated, that his countrymen had sworn; and their bosoms glowed with a rage only to be appeased by the blood of their enemies. An action ensued, fought with great valour; but the fury of the assailants was irresistible. Byram, thrown from his elephant, with difficulty saved his life, and fled toward India: his army was completely routed, and the victorious Allah entered Ghizni, and abandoned that noble city for seven days to the fury of his soldiers. The horrors which they perpetrated cannot be described; neither age nor sex were spared: the humble shed, the lofty palace, and the sacred temple, were all mixed in one common ruin[e]. But the appetite of vengeance was not sated. A number of the nobles and priests who had been taken prisoners, were carried to Ghour, and there publicly put to death: their blood was used to moisten[f] the mortar for repairing the walls of that city. The cruelty of Byram was visited on his descendants. His grandson, Khoosroo the Second, was attacked in his capital of Lahore by Mahomed, the cousin[g] of Allahudeen; and, after an ineffectual resistance, was made prisoner, and soon after slain. Khoosroo was the last of a dynasty whose fame in history may be solely ascribed

[d] Sanjar was the maternal uncle of Byram, and had not only aided him in obtaining the throne, but in keeping it.

[e] Ferishta.

[f] Ferishta.

[g] Mahomed was the second in succession from Allahudeen.

to Sultan Mahmood[h]. They were overthrown by a family which had long submitted to them, but whose uncertain allegiance was the source of constant uneasiness; for the princes of Ghour, who derived their descent from Zohauk[i], and who boasted that their ancestors had successfully opposed Feridoon, could ill brook dependence under the rulers of Ghizni. The situation of their country, amid rugged and barren mountains, was favourable to insurrection: their power increased as that of the descendants of Subuctageen declined, till they at last rose on their ruin, not only to the throne of Ghizni, but of India. Their glory, however, was short. Both these kingdoms, at the death of Mahomed, fell to slaves[k], who had been educated and adopted by him, for he left no children to inherit his fortunes.

[h] The following is a list of the princes of Ghizni, as recorded by Major Price.

NAMES OF PRINCES.

	Years of Accession to the Throne.			Years of Accession to the Throne.	
	A. H.	A. D.		A. H.	A. D.
Abustakeen	.		Abdurrasheed	443	1052
Subuctageen	365	976	Furrukhzaud	444	1053
Ismail	387	997	Ibrauhim	450	1059
Mahmood	387	997	Massoud	492	1098
Mahomed	421	1030	Arslan Shah	508	1104
Massoud	422	1031	Behram Shah	512	1108
Madood	433	1041	Khoosroo Shah	547	1152
Massoud	441	1049	Khoosroo Malek	555	1160
Aly	441	1049			

[i] Ferishta.

[k] Of these slaves, Kuttub, Eldoze, and Altumish, were the most celebrated.

Chapter VIII.

HISTORY OF THE SELJOOKEE DYNASTY, WITH A SHORT NOTICE OF SOME OF THE PRINCES OF KHAURIZM.

Although a great part of Persia had been subject to the princes of Samanee and of Ghizni, both families of Turkish descent, it had never been completely subdued by the Tartar tribes[1]; but, in its weak and distracted state, it could not long remain exempt from a fate to which more than half the world has been exposed. For, whether we turn our view to the fertile plains of China, the rich provinces of India, the rugged wastes of northern Europe, or the beautiful valleys of Asia Minor, we find that all in turn have been invaded by warlike tribes; who, issuing from the vast and varied countries of Tartary, have plundered and subdued the fairest regions of the earth. Great and powerful causes alone could produce so extraordinary an effect. These are to be found in the personal character, the condition, the habits, and manners of the Tartars. Every male is a soldier; every female is educated to attend and aid a husband, whose dwelling is a slight tent of coarse wool, whose food is supplied by his flocks or the chase, whose occupation is war, and who, even in peace, changes his abode with the season. The man is robust, hardy, brave; the woman is a stranger to all those luxuries which nourish effiminacy; and their children, at an age when in other countries they are treated as infants, ride and manage the most unruly horses. Such is the race of human beings, who, divided into large

[1] We read in Herodotus indeed, that the Scythians conquered all Asia, and ruled over it for some time; and the Parthian monarchs are said, by Greek authors, to have been of Scythian descent. Ferdosi admits that the tribes of Turan had a partial possession of Persia for twelve years; but we have no authentic record, which can lead us to pronounce that the whole kingdom was ever, before this period, completely subdued by the Tartars.

families or tribes, roam over Tartary. Each tribe obeys an hereditary chief, who exercises rather a patriarchal than an absolute sway; and who is at once supported and checked by the authority of the reish-suffeeds[m], or elders, presiding over the different branches of the tribe. The numbers in any particular tribe are often greatly increased by the admission of captives, or the reduction of another tribe to be their subjects or rather adherents: but they are still more frequently diminished by internal divisions; and when a discontented son or nephew of a chief or elder separates with his followers, they generally adopt his name, and become a distinct tribe, though still considering themselves a branch from the original stock. This is one among many causes which gives new names every day to these tribes, and throws such a confusion into their genealogy as is not to be unravelled[n].

The Tartars are constantly at war, either against the beasts of the field, or man—generally the latter. Their country is either distracted by petty factions, or united under some great leader, who conducts them to plunder and conquest in distant lands. They may be said to esteem no qualities, except valour in man and chastity in woman. There is only one path to eminence, that of military renown. To it the whole nation crowd; and, though attached to their hereditary chief, and envious of other tribes, they readily join the standard of any great leader, distinguished by his superior courage and conduct. His success makes him their king; his failure reduces him to their equal. As the hordes[o] proceeding on foreign

[m] The literal meaning of this word is "grey-beard:" and the authority was, no doubt, meant only to be given to elders; but it is often hereditary, and thus sometimes falls to young men.

[n] The astonishing labour and learning of the elder De Guignes has afforded, in his History of the Huns and Tartars, great information on this subject. That production has always appeared to me entitled to the first rank among the works of European orientalists.

[o] This word is evidently derived from *wurdu*, or *urdu*; which signifies a camp composed of many tribes.

expeditions, quit their usual residences or rather encampments, these are speedily occupied by others, ranging in search of better pasture lands, or driven by powerful neighbours from those which they possessed; thus the body in advance have no retreat, nor do they desire one: wherever they pitch, their rude tents are their habitations; and all their wealth, which consists in horses, camels, and sheep, accompanies their march. They are, in fact, a moving nation of soldiers, whose hostile attack is never embarrassed by the necessity of providing for their own defence. They seldom invade great empires except when on the decline; and this has, no doubt, been among the chief causes of their success. A population, however numerous, rendered effeminate by prosperity, and a great proportion of which is devoted to peaceable occupations, cannot cope with such a band. The army of the state has at once to defend the country from devastation, and to meet a daring enemy in the field: a defeat is fatal, a victory not decisive; for the invaders have neither wealth nor country to lose. They have not even a place to fly to; and can hardly be conquered without being extirpated.

The fame of these Tartar tribes was so great, that the very rumour of their intended invasion threw a government into confusion. When we consider their means of war, we can scarcely be surprised at so many monarchs having purchased an exemption from immediate danger, and added for the moment to their personal power, by the delusive and dangerous expedient of granting lands for the flocks, and accepting the military service of these formidable enemies. In every case where this has been done, the result has been the same. The report of the fruitful and delightful pastures which the policy or valour of their countrymen had acquired, has flown into Tartary; and the arrival of fresh tribes has at once stimulated and enabled those who have already obtained a settlement to complete the conquest they originally intended. But they have

seldom maintained for any long period the countries they have subdued. To men accustomed to coarse fare and incessant fatigue, indulgence and repose seem a Paradise; and when they attain it, their joy is intemperate. The consequence is natural: they, in their turn, fall the victims of that wealth and luxury, which excited their enterprise and promoted their success.

The Tartar tribe of Seljookee derive their name from Seljook, a chief of great reputation, who had been compelled to quit the court of Bighoo Khan, the sovereign of the Turks of Kapchack[p]. Seljook, who had proceeded with his tribe to the plains of Bokharah, died at a very advanced age. His son Michail became known to Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, and was greatly honoured by that monarch; who, according to several writers, persuaded him to cross the Oxus and settle in Khorassan. But this rests on doubtful evidence. The numbers of this tribe and their adherents appear, from the same authors[q], to have been very great. They relate, that on Mahmood asking the ambassador of their chief what force they could bring to his aid: "Send this arrow," said the envoy, presenting one of two which he held in his hand, "and fifty thousand horse will appear!" "Is that all?" exclaimed Mahmood. "Send this," said he, presenting the other, "and an equal number will follow." "But suppose I was in extreme distress," observed the monarch, "and wanted your utmost exertions?" "Then," replied the ambassador, "send my bow, and two hundred thousand horse will obey the summons!" The proud conqueror heard with secret alarm this terrifying account of their numbers; and we are told that he anticipated the future overthrow of his empire[r].

[p] Khondemir states, that Bighoo Khan was chief of the Turkish tribes dwelling on the plain of Khezer, *i.e.* Kapchack; but authors differ as to the rank and residence of Seljook. The flatterers of the dynasty make him the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from Afrasiab.

[q] D'Herbelot, &c.

[r] Some authors add, that the ambassador was kept in restraint, lest the formidable bow and arrows should be sent; but this is improbable.

The first lands which this tribe received from the family of Ghizni were granted by Massoud, who was forced, by his inability to oppose their progress, to enter into a treaty with them. The consequences have already been mentioned. After the defeat of Massoud, they became masters of Khorassan. They had before possessed a territory stretching from thence to the Jaxartes. Their leader, Toghrul, now assumed the title and state of a sovereign at Nishapore; whence he was induced to extend his conquests to the westward, by what he heard concerning the distracted state of the territories and capital of the Caliph Ul-Kaim. Having left his brother Daood in Khorassan, he advanced into Irak; having subdued it, he proceeded to Bagdad, which he took, and became master of the person of the caliph*. His next expedition was against Moossul, and the territory around it, which he soon conquered, and returned in triumph to Bagdad, where he was received in great pomp by Ul-Kaim. The Tartar monarch, we are told, approached the successor of the prophet on foot, accompanied by his nobles, who, laying aside their arms, joined in the procession. The caliph appeared with all the mummery of state that belonged to his high office. He was seated on a throne, which was concealed by a dark veil. The celebrated bourda or black mantle of the Abbasides was thrown over his shoulder; his right hand held the staff of Mahomed. Toghrul kissed the ground; and, after standing for a short time in a respectful posture, was led to the caliph, near whom he was placed on another throne. His commission was then read; which appointed him the lieutenant or vicegerent of the vicar of the holy prophet, and the lord of all Mahomedans. He was invested with seven dresses, and had seven slaves bestowed on him; a ceremony implying that he was appointed to rule the seven regions

* The name of this caliph's vizier was Malik-u-Rahim, the last of the family of the Dilemee who possessed any power.

subject to the Commander of the Faithful. A veil of gold stuff scented with musk was thrown over his head, on which two crowns were placed, one for Arabia, the other for Persia; while two swords were girt on his loins, to signify that he was ruler both of the East and of the West. This display satisfied the pride of the caliph; and the Tartar chief was pleased to receive a confirmation of past and a sanction for future conquest, from the spiritual head of his faith, who was still deemed by orthodox Mahomedans the only source of legitimate authority.

Toghrul was successful in several actions with the armies of the declining empire of Constantinople, which opposed him when he invaded Georgia and Iberia[t]. He had before completely subdued Persia, and adopted every measure to make his rule there permanent. He appears to have thought that a close alliance with the family of the caliphs would tend to increase his power. His sister had already married Ul-Kaim; and he desired to strengthen the connexion and to add to his own glory, by espousing the daughter of the Commander of the Faithful. We are told that the pride of the house of Abbas was shocked, and that some hesitation was shown; but Toghrul had not learnt to bear disappointment; and the relief he gave to the distress of the caliph, who had been imprisoned by his rebellious servants, reminded that proud pontiff of his dependence. The princess was sent, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest splendour. But the royal bridegroom, who had arrrived at the age of seventy, only enjoyed the happiness he had so anxiously sought for a few months. He died of an illness caught at the mountain fortress of Roodbar[u], where he had gone to pass the summer, that he might avoid the heats and unwholesome air of the city of Rhe.

[t] De Guignes.

[u] Roodbar lies about fifty miles to the north of the city of Kazveen.

Toghrul Beg seems to have had the bad and the good qualities of a Tartar chief. Violent in his temper, and insatiable of conquest, he was distinguished by courage, frankness, and generosity. His family and tribe had embraced the Mahomedan doctrine. Their conversion may be dated from the first settlement of Seljook near Bokharah; to which province the Arabs had some centuries before spread their creed and their dominion. Toghrul, who was hailed by the caliph on his first victories in Persia with the title of Rukun-u-deen, or "the pillar of the faith," appears to have been a zealous promoter of the religion he professed. He erected a great number of mosques, and gave distinction to pious and learned men. It was to this disposition in Toghrul and his immediate successors, that the caliphs owed an ease and dignity far superior to their condition under the princes of the family of Dilemee; who had latterly ceased to treat them even with such marks of external respect, as in their character of spiritual princes they appeared entitled to.

Alp-Arselan (for he is best known under this title, which means "the conquering lion,") succeeded his uncle[x]; and the empire of Toghrul could not have descended to a worthier heir. He united valour and generosity with the love of learning and the sciences; and could we regard him in the same light in which he is considered by Mahomedan authors, who deem his cruel persecution of the Christians in Armenia, Georgia, and Iberia, the most praiseworthy of his actions, we should term him one of the best, as he certainly is one of the most renowned among the sovereigns of Asia. His invasion of Georgia, and the cruelties[y] he committed there, because the inhabitants were reluctant to

[x] Alp-Arselan was the son of Daood Beg, who, during his life, had been on the best terms with Toghrul; and Alp-Arselan had recommended himself so much to his uncle, that, at his father's death, he was confirmed by him in the important government of Khorassan.

[y] He put a large iron collar, (Khondemir says, a horse-shoe,) as a mark of ignominy, on the neck of every Christian who refused to change his religion.

embrace the faith of Mahomed, roused the Court of Constantinople to a sense of its imminent danger from the progress of the monarch of Persia, whose armies were advanced as far as Phrygia. The Empress Eudocia had married Romanus Diogenes; and this brave leader, whom Persian authors call Oormanus, took the field at the head of the imperial forces; and by his courage and skill soon forced the scattered and encumbered armies of Persia to fall back on their own frontier. Romanus desired to improve his success, and advanced into Armenia and Aderbijan: he was met near the village of Konongo in the latter by Alp-Arselan, who, though confident in his own courage and that of his army, shuddered, as his panegyrists[1] state, at the thought of shedding the blood of true believers, and offered liberal terms to the Roman emperor; but that prince, they add, imputed his moderation to a wrong cause, and replied with insolence, "That he would hearken to no terms, unless the Persian king abandoned his camp to the Roman army, and surrendered his capital, Rhe, as a pledge of his sincere desire for peace." When Alp-Arselan received this answer, he prepared for action. The numbers of the armies were unequal; that of Romanus was the most numerous. But we cannot credit those partial historians who assert, that the Greeks had three hundred thousand[2] men, while Alp-Arselan had only twelve thousand. It was no less impossible for the Roman empire, at this period, to send so vast a force to a war on its frontier, than for the monarch of Persia to have trusted his life and fortune on the success of a battle

[1] De Guignes. Elmacin.

[2] According to D'Herbelot, who copies Persian authors, this was the state of the two armies. The more probable account of De Guignes is, that Alp-Arselan had forty thousand men; and that the army of Romanus, which at the opening of the season consisted of more than a hundred thousand, had been much reduced, and was imprudently separated in distant operations: thus the force with the emperor does not appear to have been very superior in numbers to that of Alp-Arselan, as it was weakened, just before the action, by the desertion of a body of the Turkoman tribe of Guz, or Uzze, as the Roman writers call them.

fought by so small a portion of his army. Respectable authors state, that he had forty thousand men; and it is probable that his enemies did not much exceed that number[b]. Romanus was confident of victory; Alp-Arselan determined not to survive defeat. He made a display of pious resignation to his fate, by tying up the tail[c] of his own horse, and by clothing himself in a white robe, or shroud, perfumed with musk[d]. The exchange of his bow and arrows for a scimetar and mace, declared the manner in which he was resolved to fight; while his conduct, his dress, and his speeches, proclaimed to every soldier, that if he could not preserve his earthly kingdom by a victory over the infidels, he was resolved to obtain a glorious crown of martyrdom. The troops of Romanus commenced the action, and were at first successful; but the valour of their emperor led him too far; and when he desired to retreat to his camp, a confusion arose in his ranks from the cowardice or treachery of one of his principal leaders, who withdrew a large division from his support. The experience of Alp-Arselan took advantage of this crisis: a general charge of his whole army completed the defeat of his enemies. All that personal courage could effect, was done by Romanus to repair the disorder of his troops: he fought to the last with a courage that gained strength from despair; but overwhelmed by numbers, wounded, and thrown on the ground, he was seized and carried to Alp-Arselan by an obscure officer whom that monarch the morning before, at a general review, had threatened to disgrace, on account of his mean and deformed appearance[e]. The King of Persia could hardly believe his good fortune; but having ascertained,

[b] Several western authors state that the Persians had the advantage of numbers.

[c] The horses in Persia have long tails: but it is the custom to tie them up, which not only improves the animal's appearance, but prevents the tail trailing on the ground, or being whisked about, when wet or dirty, to the annoyance of the rider.

[d] De Guignes.

[e] Kholasaut-ul-Akhbar and Abulfiradge.

from the evidence of his former ambassadors, and from the tears of the captive Romans, who wept on seeing their unfortunate emperor, that he actually possessed the person of Romanus, he treated his prisoner with extreme kindness and distinction: he uttered no reproaches that could wound a humbled monarch, but gave vent to the honest indignation of a warrior at the base and cowardly conduct of those who had deserted and abandoned so brave a leader. We are told that he asked his captive at their first conference, what he would have done if fortune had reversed their lot. "I would have given thee many a stripe[f]," was the imprudent and virulent answer. This expression of haughty and unsubdued spirit excited no anger in the brave and generous conqueror. He only smiled, and asked Romanus what he expected would be done to him. "If thou art cruel," said the emperor, "put me to death. If vain-glorious, load me with chains, and drag me to thy capital. If generous, grant me my liberty[g]." Alp-Arselan was neither cruel nor vain-glorious: he released his prisoner, gave all his officers who were captives, dresses of honour, and distinguished them by every mark of his friendship and regard. Romanus, to requite these favours, agreed to pay a large ransom[h], and to remit a fixed tribute annually. But he could never recover his throne, which had been usurped during his absence. He showed however his attention to his faith, by sending all the money he could raise, to fulfil, in part at least, the obligations into which he had entered. Alp-Arselan, pleased

[f] De Guignes, vol. iii. page 210.

[g] Major Price in his Mahomedan History gives an abridged account of the life of Alp-Arselan. He states, on the authority of the Kholasaut-ul-Akhbar, that the conduct of Romanus, after he was taken, was mean and submissive; and that he "implored the forgiveness of his conqueror." But we have an account of the behaviour of the Roman emperor from too many authentic sources to believe a Mahomedan writer, who, by detracting from the fortitude of Romanus, lessens the fame of his generous enemy.

[h] A million pieces of gold was the sum fixed for the ransom; and three hundred and sixty thousand for the annual tribute. The sum paid was two hundred thousand.—De Guignes.

with this conduct of his former enemy, was preparing to restore him by arms, when he learnt that the unfortunate Romanus Diogenes had been imprisoned and put to death by his subjects.

After his triumph over the Roman army, Alp-Arselan resolved on a still more arduous enterprise. He desired to establish the rule of the family of Seljook over their native country; and summoned his warriors to invade those vast regions whence their fathers had issued. His power extended from Arabia to the Oxus. He was enriched by the spoils of the Roman empire; and his army consisted of two hundred thousand soldiers. Since he defeated the Romans, he had subdued the greater part of Khaurizm. He now commanded a bridge to be thrown over the Oxus, which he passed without opposition. But his proud career was at its close. His operations in Khaurizm had been much prolonged by the resistance of a small fortress, called Berzem, defended by a chief of the name of Yusuph[i]. The sultan, irritated that his grand designs should have been delayed by so contemptible a place, ordered its gallant commander to appear before him; and, with feelings unworthy of his character, loaded him with abuse and reproaches for his insolence and obstinacy in resisting the Persian army. Yusuph was provoked to a violent reply; and, on hearing an order for his being put to death in a cruel manner, he drew his dagger, and flew at the Persian monarch. The guards rushed in; but Alp-Arselan, who deemed himself unequalled in skill as an archer, seized his bow, and ordered them to keep aloof[k]. They did so: the sultan missed his aim, and, before he could draw another arrow, fell under the dagger of the assailant, who received the death he had braved from a thousand hands, while the wounded monarch was borne to another tent[l]. "I now call to mind," said

[i] He is termed Yusuph Kutwal by De Guignes; but Kutwal merely means "commandant of the fort."

[k] D'Herbelot and Abulfiradge.

[l] De Guignes, vol. iii. page 213.

Alp-Arselan to those who surrounded him, "two lessons which I received from a reverend sage. The one bade me despise no man; the other, not to estimate myself too highly, or to confide in my personal prowess. I have neglected what his wisdom taught. The vast numbers of my army, which I viewed yesterday from an eminence, made me believe that all obstacles would yield to my power. To day, presuming on my strength and skill, I desired to slay the governor of Berzem with my own hands, and would not allow others to prevent his assault. I have perished from my errors; and my end will shew how weak is the power of kings and the force of man, when opposed to the decrees of destiny[m]." He lived long enough to deliver over his empire to his son, Malik Shah, who had been before proclaimed and crowned as his successor[n], and to make the principal officers swear fidelity to him. With his dying breath he entreated his son to intrust the chief management of affairs to the wise and pious Nizam-ul-Mulk[o]; a justly celebrated minister, to whose virtue and ability he attributed the success and prosperity of his own reign. This monarch was buried at Merv, in Khorassan, and the following impressive sentence was engraven on his tomb: "All you who have seen the glory of Alp-Arselan exalted to the heavens, come to Merv, and you will behold it buried in the dust."

The character of Alp-Arselan is displayed in his actions. His person was remarkable for grace and strength. He was brave and generous, and seldom cruel; except where his bigot zeal, as a Mahomedan, led him to believe that God could be propitiated by the oppression of those whom he deemed infidels, and that it was a sacred duty to compel them, by the dread of pain, ignominy, and death, to quit the religion of their fathers, and adopt that of the prophet

[m] Elmacin.
[n] D'Herbelot.
[o] De Guignes.

of Arabia. His life was passed in the army: the civil government of his country appears to have been wholly committed to a minister, whose praise is a favourite theme of every eastern historian. Nizam-ul-Mulk[p] shared the glory of his sovereign: but the character of Alp-Arselan is elevated by that of his minister. We must equally admire the discernment which discovered such rare abilities and virtue, and the noble and unsuspecting confidence which gave them so unbounded a sphere of action. Under the direction of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the territories of Alp-Arselan attained the highest prosperity. Justice was well administered; colleges and mosques were erected in every city; learning was encouraged; the poor were protected; and the inhabitants of Persia confessed, that the conquest of their country by the savage Tartars, which they had dreaded as the worst of evils, had proved the greatest of blessings. This minister however had no talents as a general: in the few military operations in which he was engaged, he seems to have trusted more to his piety than his valour. When foiled in his attempt to make himself master of a castle[q] in Fars, he consoled himself by the philosophical reflexion, "That a man should not become impatient from disappointment, as it could not cure, though it doubled the pain[r]:" and when the same fortress capitulated, from the fountains which supplied it becoming dry, he attributed his success solely to his prayers. His flatterers have not hesitated to deem its fall one of many miracles, which, they say, were wrought by this able and holy man[s]. But the warrior monarch did not require the aid of the philosopher's sword: it was to dispense the blessings of good government, not to

[p] He is only known by his title, which means "the regulator of the state."

[q] The rebel commander of this castle was a general of Alp-Arselan, who had received this government in reward for having defeated Kara Arselan, one of the Seljook princes of Kerman.

[r] D'Herbelot.

[s] D'Herbelot.

make war, that he employed him; and his expectations were fully answered. Their names have come down together; and if there are few instances in history of a monarch bestowing such boundless trust, there are, perhaps, still fewer of confidence so well rewarded.

The right of Malik Shah to his father's crown was disputed by his uncle, Cawder Beg, Prince of Kerman; but that chief was defeated and taken prisoner. He was confined in a strong fortress in Khorassan[t]; and his life would have been spared, had not the troops in that province mutinied for an increase of pay, and threatened that, if it were not granted, they would raise Cawder Beg to the throne. Nizam-ul-Mulk pretended, to gain time, that he would forward their petition; but, anxious to prevent civil war, he sent secret orders to despatch the captive: his death defeated all the projects of the mutineers, as it deprived them of a head. The active valour of Malik Shah defeated another rebellion, headed by one of his brothers, called Tourtousch, who saved himself by leaving the kingdom.

The Caliph Ul-Kaim[u] died soon after Malik Shah ascended the throne; and, as that monarch was the real master of the empire, the nomination of a successor was

[t] De Guignes, vol. iii. page 214.

[u] The title of sultan was given by Ul-Kaim to Malik Shah, as well as that of Ameer-ul-Moumenan, or "lord of the faithful," which before had been confined to the caliphs themselves; he was also termed Jellal-u-Doula-ul-Deen, or, "the glory of the state and of religion."

Such titles appear to have first become common under the dynasty of Dilem, all of whom were distinguished by some high names. The usage has spread through every Mahomedan government; and in general those have highest titles who have least power. The love for this shadow of grandeur has remained, where all its substance has fled. The royal family of Delhi, now pensioners of the British government, continue to grant names as in the zenith of their power. Many gentlemen of the civil establishment of Bengal are "dragons of war" and "lions of battle," while several military officers are "the pillars of the state," "ornamenters of dominion," &c. If this fallen and pensioned court receive its fees, it is indifferent about the titles given; and the Subah of the Deckan issues from his palace at Hyderabad titles no less magnificent than those conferred by the nominal sovereign of Delhi, whose slave he styles himself.

deferred till he was consulted. He deputed a son of Nizam-ul-Mulk to Bagdad, with orders to raise Mochtadi to the nominal rank of Commander of the Faithful.

The generals of Malik Shah subdued almost the whole of Syria and Egypt; and that prince, more fortunate than his father, not only conquered Bokharah[x], Samarcund, and Khaurizm, but received homage from the tribes beyond the Jaxartes; and compelled the prince of the distant country of Kashgar to strike money in his name, and to pay him an annual tribute. It is related[y], that when Malik Shah was passing the Oxus, the boatmen on that river complained to him that they were paid by an order on the revenues of Antioch. The sultan spoke to his minister. "It is not to defer the payment of their wages," said Nizam-ul-Mulk, "that I have given them this order, but to display your glory and the wide extent of your dominions." The sultan was pleased with this flattery; and the complaints of the boatmen ceased when they found that they could negotiate the bill without loss. Malik Shah is said to have travelled over his vast dominions twelve times[z]. But this must allude only to the part of them under his immediate rule; for, if we include the territories of those princes whom he had conquered, and obliged to do him homage and to pay tribute, the limits of his dominions extended from the Mediterranean to near the wall of China; so that prayers were every day offered up for his health in Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Bagdad, Isfahan, Rhe, Bokharah, Samarcund, Ourgunje, and Kashgar.

Eastern historians recount many anecdotes to prove the goodness as well as the greatness of Malik Shah. On coming out of a mosque, before he fought the battle with

[x] Abulfedha. De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 215.

[y] D'Herbelot.

[z] In the year 481 of the Hejirah, this prince made a most pompous pilgrimage to Mecca. He built caravansaries at many of the stages, and abolished the duties exacted from pilgrims.

his brother Tourtousch, he asked Nizam-ul-Mulk what he had prayed for[a]. "I have prayed," replied the minister, "that the Almighty may give you a victory over your brother." "And I," said Malik Shah, "that God may take my life and crown, if my brother is worthier than I am to reign over the faithful." A noble sentiment; it must have propitiated that success which it only sought as the reward of superior piety and virtue. But the character of this prince has a stain, which all his glory cannot efface. He listened to the enemies of Nizam-ul-Mulk[b]; and, by disgracing that old and virtuous minister, caused his death. His own fortune appeared to decline from this hour[a]; and a nation, which for half a century had revered the sage whom he destroyed, saw without regret the changed lot of his ungrateful pupil. The accounts of this event differ a little; but they are easily reconciled. Khatoon Toorkan[c], the principal sultana, hated the minister, because she feared he would oppose her plans

[a] De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 223.

[b] According to some Persian historians, Malik Shah owed his life and liberty to his able minister. They state that, when at war with the Greek Emperor, Alexius I., he was taken prisoner, but concealed his rank. The minister heard of the event, but spread a report that the king was returned to the camp; and kept the usual guards over his tent, to which he went frequently on pretext of private interviews. He contrived to open a conference with the Greeks, and a truce was soon concluded. When settled, the Emperor Alexius said he had some Persian prisoners. "They can be men of no consequence," observed Nizam-ul-Mulk, "for I did not know they were taken." They were sent for; and the minister, addressing the king and his followers, said, "Idle stragglers like you merit misfortune, and I do not care whether you are released or not." The Greeks, conceiving their captives to be men of no consequence, gave them their liberty; and heard afterwards with astonishment that they had inadvertently liberated the monarch of Persia. The same fable (for such I consider it) adds, that Alexius was afterwards made prisoner, and released by Malik Shah. Major Price conjectures, (and I have no doubt correctly,) that these stories, which he gives on the authority of the Kholassat-ul-Ackbar, have some confused relation to what took place between Alp-Arselan and Romanus Diogenes.

[c] This name, or title, means "the Turkish lady," and is always given to princesses of Turkish descent.

of raising her infant son, Mahmood, to the throne, to the injury of his elder brother, Burkyaruk; who, from his birth and maturer age, was protected in his rights by Nizam-ul-Mulk. She sought, by every means in her power, to poison the mind of the sultan against his minister. He was accused of possessing great power: his twelve sons, it was said, held the highest offices of state; and his family enjoyed the whole patronage of the government, in which the sultan was only a cipher. These accusations gained strength from an imprudent act of Mouad-u-dowlah, the eldest of the minister's sons. The king had desired that a person who enjoyed his favour should be employed by Mouad-u-dowlah; and the command had not been obeyed, the man being incompetent to the station. But the sultan was easily persuaded that this neglect of his wishes had proceeded from other causes; and he not only dismissed Mouad-u-dowlah from his office, bat gave it to Adil, the very person whom that noble had refused to promote. This insult to his family was severely felt by Nizam-ul-Mulk, and his expressions of irritation were reported to the king; who, enraged at his supposed contumely, demanded the instant resignation of his ink-horn[d] and cap, the insignia of his exalted station. The minister, as he gave them up, said, it was fit he should be required to resign power, when the vast empire enjoyed a tranquillity of which he was the author[e]. "When the sea was troubled," he added, "Malik Shah honoured me with his confidence; all is now calm, and he listens to my calumniators. But he will not long be ignorant that the cap and ink-horn which he has called on me to resign, are connected by a divine decree with his crown and throne." This hasty effusion of an

[d] The kullumdan, or ink-horn, is made to hold both ink and pens. It is about ten or twelve inches in length and three or four round. It is generally beautifully painted, and is still worn by ministers in Persia as a mark of their office. It is stuck in the girdle, just where military men wear their daggers.

[e] De Guignes.

old man smarting under ingratitude, was conveyed with exaggeration to the sultan, who was confirmed in all his unfavourable feelings. A short time afterward, as the disgraced minister was following the royal camp from Isfahan to Bagdad, he was stabbed by an assassin[f], employed by his successor in office, who feared a change in the sultan's sentiments.

Nizam-ul-Mulk lived a short time after receiving the fatal wound; and we are told that the last moments of his life were spent in writing some verses, addressed to Malik Shah[g]. They were to the following purport:—"Great king! a portion of my life has been passed in banishing injustice from your territories, wherein I was supported by your authority. I now go to give an account of my administration to the Almighty King of kings. To him I shall present the proofs of my fidelity, and such titles as I can shew for the reputation I have acquired in your service. In the ninety-third year of my life the thread of my existence has been cut short by the dagger of an assassin. It only remains, that I deliver to my son the continuance of those services which I have rendered to my king; and that I recommend him to the favour and protection of God and your majesty!" The body of this justly celebrated man was carried to Isfahan, where he was interred with great pomp; and the tears of those whom his precepts and example had tended to civilize, proved his just title to the praise that has been lavished on his memory.

Malik Shah survived his minister only a few months. Being attached to Bagdad, he desired to make it his capital, and endeavoured to reconcile the Caliph Mochtadi to his plan; which required that the caliph should remove to another city. Mochtadi requested him to delay the execution of this intention for ten days; and within that period

[f] The assassin was a follower of Hussun Subah, the chief of the mountains, who will be mentioned hereafter. Hussun was a personal enemy of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

[g] De Guignes.

Malik Shah was seized with a violent illness, which terminated his life[h], in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Few monarchs have attained the glory[i] and power of Malik Shah; and there is no instance in Persian history of so vast an empire enjoying so long a period of tranquillity. The kingdom he inherited, which extended from the plains of Tartary to those of Syria, was, during the twenty years of his reign, only disturbed by a short contest with his uncle and brother, immediately after his accession; and we cannot desire a better proof of his excellent government, or perhaps we should say, of that of his great minister, in whom, till within a few months of his death, he implicitly confided. The country was greatly improved during his reign: many colleges and mosques were built; and agriculture was promoted by the construction of canals and water-courses. Learning was also encouraged: an assembly of astronomers from every part of Malik Shah's wide dominions, were employed for several years in reforming the calendar; and their labours, which established the Jellalean[k], or glorious era, is a proof of the attention given to the noblest of all sciences.

The history of the Seljookian princes, from the death of Malik Shah to the elevation of Sultan Sanjar, presents nothing but a detail of petty wars. It will be sufficient to notice the leading features of such a scene. The four sons

[h] Major Price, on the authority of the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, states that he was taken ill when pursuing his favorite amusement of the chase; and that he died on the 5th of November, 1092, eighteen days after the assassination of his minister, Nizam-ul-Mulk.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. p. 356.

[i] This monarch enjoyed great power; and Persian authors state, that he gave away many kingdoms; but the chiefs whom they mention as princes, were only appointed his lieutenants. They made themselves independent at his death. Among them was Soliman, the son of Kutulmush, the founder of the celebrated Seljookian dynasty of Iconium.

[k] This era, according to Hyde, commences on the 15th of March, 1079, or the eleventh of Ramazah, in the year of the Hejirah four hundred and seventy one. It was named Jellalean, in honour of the sultan, one of whose titles was Jullaledeen, "or the glory of the state."

of Malik Shah, Burkyaruk, Mahomed, Sanjar, and Mahmood, all attained power in their turns. The youngest, Mahmood, was only four years of age when his father died; but the ambition of his mother, the Sultana Khatoon Toorkan, placed the crown upon his infant head; and the Caliph Mochtadi was prevailed on to read the prayers in his name. The sultana marched to Isfahan, preceded by the corpse of Malik Shah. Burkyaruk, the eldest prince, was residing there; but, having no means of resistance, retired to Rhe, attended by Mouad-u-doulah, the son of the late minister[l], who, with all the adherents of his family, warmly espoused his cause. This support soon enabled him to return; and Khatoon Toorkan was compelled to resign a great part of her treasures, before she could obtain permission to keep possession of Isfahan; but all her schemes of aggrandisement were some time afterwards terminated by her own death and that of her son[m].

The death of the Caliph Mochtadi, about the same period, induced Burkyaruk to go to Bagdad, where he confirmed Mostadher as his successor, and was himself hailed by the new Lord of the Faithful as sultan of the empire. He enjoyed that dignity twelve years; but his reign was a perpetual war, in which his nearest relations and all the great lords of the state were engaged. His usual residence was Bagdad. His brother, Mahomed, ruled over Aderbijan; while Sanjar established a kingdom in Khorassan and Transoxania, whence he extended his conquests over the fallen princes of Ghizni, compelling them to pay him tribute and own him as their superior. Burkyaruk, who appears to have had an excellent disposition, and not to have been deficient in courage[n] or conduct, died at Booroo-

[l] Nizam-ul-Mulk.

[m] He died at Isfahan of the small-pox. According to the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, Khatoon Toorkan died before her son.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. p. 359.

[n] This prince commenced the contest for the crown under every disadvantage. He had no treasure, and hardly any friends but the adherents

jird[*], on his march from Isfahan to Bagdad. He felt his end approaching; and, before he expired, made his army take the oath of fidelity to his son, Malik Shah the Second; but that youth, though guarded by the wisdom and courage of his Atta-beg, or adopted father, the Ameer Ayaz, could not resist his uncle, Mahomed, who seized Bagdad treacherously, slew Ayaz, and making his nephew prisoner, assumed the title of sultan.

The reign of Mahomed was only remarkable for continual petty contests within his own dominions, and for the wars which his generals carried on in Syria against the European armies engaged in a crusade to recover the sacred city of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the Mahomedans. He died at Isfahan, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmood, who however was soon reduced by his uncle, Sanjar, to the condition of a dependent. After a complete defeat, he gladly accepted the government of Irak as viceroy, but continued to enjoy the name of sultan. Sanjar preserved his authority over his nephew by giving occasional countenance to such as opposed him; and he actually obliged him to restore to power an Arab chief, named Dobais, who had plundered Bussorah, and attacked Bagdad[p]. Mahmood died at Hamadan, and is reputed to have been a mild and just prince. He desired to leave his crown to his son, Daood; but, at his death, both his brothers, Massoud and Seljook Shah, usurped the government, and united in an ineffectual attempt to oppose their uncle, Sanjar, who advanced into Persia, and placed the crown of the southern part of that kingdom and of Arabia on the

of his minister, Mouad-u-doulah. They compelled him to revenge the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, when the vizier who had supplanted and slain him fell into his hands. Mouad-u-doulah having been dismissed, joined Mahomed in an attack upon Burkyaruk; but was taken, and put to death. He appears to have been a restless, ambitious man, and altogether different in character from his great father, Nizam-ul-Mulk.

[*] Booroojird is the capital of a district of the same name; it contains a population of about twelve thousand souls.

[p] De Guignes.

head of his nephew, Toghrul, the son of Mahomed. But the authority of this prince was disputed the moment Sanjar returned to Khorassan; and the country was thrown into confusion by petty wars, in which the Arab chief, Dobais, and Zenghi [q], the independent Prince of Moossul and Aleppo, took a conspicuous part. The murder of the caliphs Murtashed and Rashid Billah, by the assassins who at this period infested Persia, and whose history will be given, were among the most remarkable events during these disturbances. But it is time to turn from these scenes to the history of the Sultan Sanjar, who is deemed by many Mahomedan authors the best, if not the greatest of the Seljookian monarchs.

Sanjar was, as before stated, a son of Malik Shah. At his father's death he held the government of Khorassan, and took little concern in the troubles that ensued: but from the death of his brother, Sultan Mahmood, he may be deemed the actual sovereign of Persia, as his paramount power was acknowledged by his nephews, who ruled over Irak, and the territories near Bagdad. He always resided in Khorassan; and from that centre extended his power, in one direction beyond the Indus, and in another to the Jaxartes. He forced Byram Shah, a monarch of the race of Ghizni, whose capital was Lahore, to pay him tribute; and Allah-u-deen [r], Prince of Ghour, who had defeated Byram Shah and taken Ghizni, yielded in his turn to the superior force of Sanjar, by whom he was defeated and made prisoner, and only restored to liberty on condition of becoming a tributary to the House of Seljook. Samarcund and Bokharah were subdued: to render his magnificence complete, the kingdom of Khaurizm was bestowed on the chief cup-bearer of Sanjar; and this prince, when he re-

[q] This chief was father of the celebrated Noorudeen.

[r] Another name of this prince was Hussein. He was also known by the epithet of Jehan Souz, or "the burner of the world," which was given to him on account of his destroying Ghizni.

turned to court for a few months, performed the duties of his former office, clothed in his royal robes, which has led the flatterers of this sultan to say that he was served by kings. But Sanjar, after a long reign, marked by singular glory and success, was destined to experience the most cruel reverses. He was persuaded to advance far into Tartary to attack Gour Khan, the monarch of Kara Khatay, and suffered a signal defeat, in which almost his whole army was cut to pieces, his family taken, and all his baggage plundered. He fled with a few followers to Khorassan, where he was reminded by a flattering poet [s], who made an ode on the occasion, "that the condition of God alone was not liable to change." The monarch whom he thus consoled, was reserved for still greater misfortunes. The Turkoman tribe of Ghuz, had withheld their usual tribute of forty thousand sheep. Sanjar marched against them, to compel obedience: an action ensued, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner. He was at first treated with great respect; but latterly he endured every hardship and insult that barbarity could inflict. The savage Turkomans placed him during the day upon a throne, and at night shut him up in an iron cage. During his long confinement [t], his dominions were ruled by his favourite sultana, Khatoon Toorkan; at whose death Sanjar made an effort to escape, and was successful: but he lived only a short time after he regained his liberty. The desolate and deplorable situation of his territories, great part of which had been ravaged and destroyed [u] by the barbarous Ghuz, preyed on

[s] Fereid-u-deen.

[t] He was in the hands of the Turkomans four years.

[u] The Sultana Khatoon Toorkan was, according to D'Herbelot, the head of the regency which governed the territories of Sanjar during his imprisonment; but the whole of Khorassan appears to have been overrun by the barbarous tribe of Ghuz. A mission was sent to Ahmed-ben-Soliman, the ruler of Samarcund, (a prince whom Sanjar had first deposed, and afterwards restored to his throne,) to implore his aid: among the letters which the ambassador Kumal-u-deen carried to that monarch, was a poetical address, entitled, "The Tears of Khorassan," written by the celebrated

his spirits, and plunged him into a melancholy from which he never recovered; and this remarkable proof of his sensi-

Anveri, a native of that province. Genius could not have desired a nobler subject to exert its powers, nor have hoped for higher reward than the applause which this effort has received from his countrymen. The whole poem, which is very long, has been translated by the late General Kirkpatrick, and the version is every where true to the sense and spirit of the original. The poet gives a faithful, but highly coloured, picture of the ruin and desolation of Khorassan. In painting the miserable condition to which the barbarity of the tribe of Ghuz had reduced that province, he exclaims—

Is there, where ruin reigns in dreadful state,
Whom fortune smiles on, or whom joys await?
'Tis yonder corse descending to the tomb:
Is there a spotless female to be found,
Where deeds of diabolic lust abound?
'Tis yonder infant issuing from the womb.

The mosque no more admits the pious race;
Constrain'd, they yield to beasts the holy place,
A stable now, where doom nor porch is found:
Nor can the savage foe proclaim his reign,
For Khorassania's criers all are slain,
And all her pulpits levelled with the ground.

Does some fond mother on a sudden view,
Among the victims of this murd'rous crew,
A darling son, her waning age's joy?
Since here the grief is fatal that is known,
Fear checks the rising tear and labouring groan,
Nor dares the matron ask how died her boy.

'Hold!' thou exclaim'st: 'Oh, rigid tyrant, hold!
'What though yon wretch was purchas'd by thy gold,
'Thy title 's to his labour, not his health;'
Alas! no slave that wretch, but one in whom
A thousand graces and fair virtues bloom,
By yon harsh tyrant spoil'd of countless wealth."

Anveri, in a subsequent part of this poem, makes the following impressive appeal to the sovereign he addresses:—

Oh thou of purest mind and noblest race!
By Him who gave that crown thy brow to grace;
Who gave, t' adorn the minted ore, thy name:
By Him—by Heaven's just King, we thee conjure,
To loose our chains—our painful wounds to cure:
So shall a grateful world thy praise proclaim.

Oh thou, with glory crown'd! to whom belongs
The sword of justice, and the cure of wrongs,
Earth's mighty guardian, thou! by Heaven ordain'd:

bility[x] to the condition of his subjects disposes us to believe the high eulogiums of all eastern authors on Sanjar, who is as much celebrated for his humanity and justice, as for his valour and magnificence.

After his death, Persia continued for forty years to be distracted with the wars between different branches of the Seljookian dynasty. The last who exercised power was Toghrul the Third[y], who, after overcoming most of his rivals, and defeating a conspiracy of his nobles, gave himself up to every species of excess. The ruler of Khaurizm, who, since the death of Sanjar, had become an independent monarch, was invited to attack Persia by the discontented nobles. He defeated and slew Toghrul, who is said to have shown great valour in the action he lost his life in. But we are told by the same authors, that he went forth to battle flushed with wine, and was unhorsed and killed by the monarch of Khaurizm, as he was singing with a loud voice some stanzas from the poem of Ferdosi[z], which described

To Persia, ah! thy fostering care extend,
Nor yet her name with perish'd nations blend,
Tho' all her plains be waste, and all her blood be drain'd.

The genial influence of the sun in spring
To thee belongs, and is thy type, O king!
While Persia prospects of pil'd ruins yields;
Then emulate the generous planet's praise,
Which sheds alike its bright impartial rays,
On desolated towns and fruitful fields.

Thy care benign, like heaven-distilled showers,
Can raise the harvest, and can paint the bowers,
As bless'd Turania's verdant glories show:
But since, great prince, the balmy dew still feeds
Alike the barren heath and flowery meads
Let hapless Persia too thy bounty know."

Asiatic Miscel. vol. i. p. 295, 296, 298, 303, 304.

[x] It is, however to be observed, that Sultan Sanjar was in his seventy-third year when he died; and his advanced age must have rendered him more unequal to sustain the great shock which his feelings received on seeing the desolate state of his country.

[y] The son of Arselan Shah, the son of Toghrul the Second, the son of Mahomed, who was the brother of Sanjar, and the second son of the celebrated Malik Shah.

[z] The stanzas were these:—" When the dust arose which attended the

the prowess of a victorious hero opening a passage for his troops amid the dismayed ranks of his enemies. With this prince terminated the Seljookian monarchs of Persia: they had reigned from the commencement of the reign of Toghrul the First to the death of Toghrul the Third, during one hundred and fifty-eight years. A branch of this family, which ruled over Kerman, had assumed the high title of sultan; but they exercised little more power than that of governors of provinces, and paid homage or withheld it according to the strength or weakness of the paramount authority.

The Tartar tribe of Seljook had spread over almost all Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. But when the families of the generals who conquered these countries had obtained power, they threw off even the show of duty to their former masters, the sovereigns of Persia. The dynasties of Iconium and Aleppo are well known in western history, from their wars with the armies of Europe engaged in the crusade. Both these governments fell before the fortune of an adventurer from the mountains of Kurdistan. The celebrated Sallah-u-deen was the son of Nizam-u-deen Aiyoub [a], who was Kutwal, or commander of the fort of Tukreet; a station which he was obliged to leave, because his brother, Assudeen Sheerkoh [b], a brave youth, had slain a man of high family who had insulted an unprotected female [c]. The

march of mine enemies, when the cheeks of my bravest warriors turned pale with affright, I raised on high my ponderous mace," &c. The drunken monarch lifted up his mace as he sung these verses, but it descended not, like that of the hero in Ferdosi, on the head of his enemy, but on the knee of his own horse, which fell to the ground; and Toghrul was slain as he lay there, not by the King of Khaurizm, but by one who had formerly been his subject.—*Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.*

[a] Aiyoub's father, Shadi-ben-Mervan, was a Kurd from the village of Dewun. He had been appointed Kutwal of Tukreet by one of the Seljookian kings; and his son succeeded him.

[b] Sheerkoh, which signifies "the lion of the mountain," was probably a name given to this Kurd to denote his prowess.

[c] Persian MSS. History of the Kurds.

brothers found refuge at the court of Nour-u-deen Mahmood, the ruler of Balbeck; and Assudeen Sheerkoh was afterwards sent, in command of a force, to aid Azad Ismail, the Waly, or Governor of Egypt, against "the infidels of Europe." The young Sallah-u-deen accompanied his uncle, and succeeded him as vizier, or minister to the waly. On the death of Azad Ismail[d], he assumed the government: soon afterwards all Syria submitted to his authority, and he became the successful champion of his religion. It is foreign to this work to relate the actions of this great prince, who is justly celebrated by eastern writers for his courage, humanity, and great talents, both as a warrior and a statesman.

Takush, the King of Khaurizm, who had conquered Toghrul the Third, was a descendant from the prince of that country, who had been cup-bearer to Sanjar[e]. At his death, he left his kingdom to his son, Mahomed, whose reign, at its commencement, was splendid and successful; but his fortune fell before that great destroyer of the human race, Chenghiz Khan; and, after his armies had been defeated, his countries pillaged, and almost all his family made prisoners, he died of a broken heart, at a small island in the Caspian near Asterabad. His son, Jellal-u-deen, the last of this dynasty of kings, long bore up with exemplary

[d] These particulars of Sallah-u-deen, or Saladin, as Europeans term him, are taken from a Persian manuscript, entitled "The History of the Kurds." The author states, that the wealth he obtained on the death of Azad Ismail was very great: among the jewels was a staff of emeralds; and his desire of knowledge was gratified by a library of one hundred thousand select volumes. The events of Sallah-u-deen's life, as related in this work, correspond exactly with D'Herbelot, except the account which the latter gives of the contracted marriage between Malick-ul-Adil, the brother of Sallah-u-deen, and the sister of the King of England; on this point the Kurdish history is silent. It is written by a Mahomedan; and his bigotry may have suppressed a fact which he might not deem honourable to his hero; for Matilda, with all her beauty, must have been, in his view, but an infidel.

[e] According to the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, he was cup-bearer to the emperor, Malik Shah; but he might have served both the father and son in this capacity.

fortitude, against the torrent that had overwhelmed his father: but he was at last subdued by the vicissitudes of his fortune; and from having been an object of universal love and admiration, became one of detestation and contempt. The hero, who, by swimming the Indus, after the most gallant efforts to defeat his enemies, had extorted the applause of Chenghiz, was, in his latter years, only remarkable for his indolence and excesses; and the termination of his career was as inglorious, as its commencement had been noble and heroic. He fled from a small detachment of Moghuls, took refuge in the hills of Kurdistan, and was slain by a barbarian, whose brother he had before put to death.

Chapter IX.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ATTA-BEGS OF ADERBIJAN, FARS, AND LARISTAN: WITH A HISTORY OF HUSSUN SUBAH, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

From the decline of the dynasty of Seljook to the conquest of Persia by Hulakoo Khan, the son of Chenghiz, a period of more than a century, that country was distracted by the contests of petty princes, or governors, called Atta-begs[f]; who, taking advantage of the weakness of the last Seljookian monarchs, and of the distractions which followed their final extinction, established their authority over some of the finest provinces of the empire. Many of these petty dynasties acquired such a local fame, as, to this day, gives an importance to their memory with the inhabitants of the countries over which they ruled. They are mentioned in every history of Persia; and it is impossible, therefore, to

[f] The word Atta-beg is Turkish: it is a compound word of atta, master or tutor, and beg, lord; and signifies a governor, or tutor, of a lord or prince.

pass them over in silence. A short notice of some of the most eminent will show the character of their rule, and give a picture of that condition into which an Asiatic nation usually falls, on the decline of the power of its monarchs.

Among the most distinguished of these Atta-begs was Illij Guz[g]: he had been one of Turkish slaves, whom a merchant brought to sell to Massoud, one of the Seljookee kings. The vizier bought thirty-nine for his royal master, but rejected Illij Guz on account of his mean and wretched appearance. As they were leading away the poor fellow, he turned round and exclaimed, "Oh vizier! if you have purchased thirty-nine slaves for the king's sake, buy me for God's sake[h]!" The minister, pleased with his sprightliness, included him in the bargain; but the first employment assigned to him, marked the low estimation in which he was held. He was made a scullion in the royal kitchen; but even in that condition he became remarkable for his diligence and attention. He was promoted in consequence to a more respectable situation; and rose so rapidly, that we find him, within a few years, appointed to act as steward of the royal household. The knowledge he had obtained of the abuses in the kitchen and other departments, when in subordinate offices, enabled him to make so many economical reforms, that he established himself in the favour of his royal master, who advanced him to the highest stations in the kingdom: and the able manner in which Illij Guz executed every duty assigned him, led at last, not only to his being charged with the education of one of the young princes, which gave him the title of Atta-beg, but to his marriage with the widow of Toghrul the Second[i].

[g] I have called this prince by the name by which he is most commonly known. Khondemir calls him Illou Guz. Major Price, on the authority of the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, calls him Eyldekez.

[h] De Guignes.

[i] This prince, the son of Mahomed, was raised to the dignity of sultan by his uncle, Sanjar: he was the brother of Massoud, the master of Illij Guz.

Soon after this, he had been nominated to the government of Aderbijan; but a vacancy occurring by the death of the chief vizier, he was appointed to that high office. The despised scullion had become, within a short period, the most powerful noble of the Persian empire; and he appears to have merited his good fortune, from the talents he displayed, both as a statesman and a soldier.

He died at Hamadan, and left his power and station to his eldest son, Atta-beg Mahomed. When Toghrul the Third[k], a child of seven years of age, was placed upon the throne, Mahomed, who was his prime vizier, became the actual ruler of Persia[l]. This chief died, after enjoying power thirteen years, and was succeeded by his brother, Kizel Arselan; who, in combination with Nasser, the reigning Caliph of Bagdad[m], seized and imprisoned Sultan Toghrul, and resolved to usurp the name as well as the power of a monarch. But the day before that fixed for his coronation, he fell by the blow of an assassin. He was succeeded by his nephew, Atta-beg Aboubeker[n], who appears to have contented himself with the principality of Aderbijan, and fixed his residence at Tabreeze. His long rule was only disturbed by one war with his brother, Kutluck, in which he was victorious: but this defeat brought ruin upon the Seljookian family; for Kutluck fled into Khaurizm, and by his account of the weak and distracted state of Persia, encouraged Takush Khan to advance against Toghrul, whose fate has been before related[o]. Kutluck derived no benefit from his treason, as

[k] This last prince of the Seljookian dynasty was the son of Arselan Mahomed, who was the son of Toghrul the Second, whose widow, a woman of great piety and talent, Illij Guz had married. The Atta-beg Mahomed was consequently the uncle of Toghrul the Third.

[l] Khondemir.

[m] The History of the Arabians does not deny that the caliph took an active part in this plot, though he showed great indifference to its progress.

[n] The title of this prince was Nour-u-deen; he was the eldest son of Atta-beg Mahomed.

[o] Vide page 227.

he was slain soon after this event in a dispute with a noble of the King of Khaurizm. When Atta-beg Aboubeker died, he was succeeded by his brother, Atta-beg Muzuffer, who inherited not only Aderbijan, but a considerable part of Irak. He enjoyed this power fifteen years; after which Aderbijan was invaded and conquered by Jellal-u-deen[p], the monarch of Khaurizm. Muzuffer shut himself up in the Fort of Alenjuck, where he died; and with him perished the power of the family of Illij Guz.

The Atta-begs of Fars were descended from Sulghour, a Turkish general in the service of the Seljookee kings, who was intrusted with the charge of one of the princes of that race, and appointed to the government of Fars, and some adjoining provinces. Sulghour[q] managed not only to keep his government during his life, but to transmit it to his descendants, seven of whom held Fars as governors[r]. After the death of Boozabah, the last of these governors, Atta-beg Sunkur[s], the great grandson of Sulghour, succeeded, and threw off all dependence on the sultans of Seljookee: an attempt was made to coerce him into submission, but it ended in the defeat of the royal army, and

[p] This title, by which this sultan is known in history, signifies "the glory of the faith."

[q] Major Price, writing from the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, differs slightly from the authority I follow in relating the origin of the power of this family.

[r] The first of these was Moudad-ben-Sulghour. The second, Fazelan-shuban-Karrah, who received the government from Alp-Arselan, rebelled, but was reduced by Nizam-ul-Mulk. The third was Ruken-u-doulah. The fourth, Atta-beg Jellal-u-deen Jawallee. The fifth, Atta-beg Kurrajah, built a college at Shiraz, and a palace on the side of a mountain called Tukht Karrajiah, or "the throne of Karrajiah." This building was in ruins; but the late King of Persia commenced a palace, which the present has finished, on its site; and which, by a slight alteration of its original name, is called Tukht Kujuriah, or "the throne of the Kujurs." The sixth Atta-beg was Munkous, who is only known from being buried at a college at Shiraz, which he founded. The seventh, Boozabah, is said to have been a just and wise governor.

[s] He is, perhaps, better known by his title of Muzuffer-u-deen, or "the victorious of the faith."

the confirmation of his power which extended over the province of Kirman. This excellent prince gave the greatest attention to the countries he governed[t], particularly to the city of Shiraz, which had always been the capital of the family[u]. He was succeeded at his death by his brother, Muzuffer-u-deen Zenghi, who, after a peaceful rule, left the government to his son, Tochlah; the latter acquired fame by employing as his vizier the virtuous Ameen-u-deen of Kazeroon. At the death of Tochlah, the government of Fars fell to his brother, Saad, who made a successful attack on Isfahan; whence he brought away some of the principal inhabitants. It is recounted of Saad, that he fell in with the army of Sultan Mahomed, of Khaurizm, near Rhe, when that monarch was proceeding on a visit to the caliph at Bagdad. Though only accompanied by seven hundred men, he instantly made an attack, and was at first successful in dispersing a great body of the sultan's troops; but his horse having fallen, he was seized, and carried to Mahomed, who naturally demanded what madness could induce him to such an action. "I mistook one of your advanced posts for a body of my enemies," said the Atta-beg; "and your majesty must be convinced I could never think of attacking your brave and numerous army with seven hundred men." The sultan, satisfied with this answer, and pleased with the valour he had displayed, paid him the greatest attention; and, after honouring him with a rich dress, sent him to Shiraz, attended by a body of a thousand horse[x]. But these favours were not unconditional: the Atta-beg agreed that his daughter should marry the Prince Jellal-u-deen; that his son, Zenghi, should remain at court; and that an annual tribute should be paid by the Atta-begs[y] of Fars to the monarchs of Khaurizm. On his march towards Shiraz, Saad was met

[t] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.
[u] Persian MSS. History of Shiraz.
[x] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.
[y] This title had become hereditary.

by his son, Zenghi; who, disliking the agreement into which his father had entered, and having placed some troops in ambush, fell upon the soldiers of Khaurizm, and either killed or dispersed their advanced party. The commander of the escort, surprised at this unexpected attack, demanded of Saad if he meant to break that faith which he had pledged to his master. He assured him he did not; and advanced alone to remonstrate with his son. The rash youth, seeing his father unattended, attacked him with fury; but was struck to the ground by the mace of his enraged parent; who, after ordering him to be bound, sent him prisoner to the hill fort of Istakhr, from which he was not released till the return of Sultan Jellal-u-deen* from Scind to Irak[a]. The memory of Atta-beg Saad is, to this day, held in great respect at Shiraz. He surrounded that city by a wall, and built the Musjid-e-Jamah, or chief mosque, which still remains a monument of his piety and munificence.

Saad was succeeded by Atta-beg Aboubeker, as on every way worthy of his father. He reduced Bahrein, and all the islands of the gulf, under his authority[b]. He gave an extraordinary proof of his foresight in his early conciliation of Chenghiz Khan, to whom he sent a mission and some valuable presents. The conqueror received the advance with favour, conferred the Turkish title of Kutluck Khan upon the Atta-beg; and the province of Fars was, through the wisdom of its prince, exempted from that destruction which fell on all those in its vicinity.

After a long and prosperous reign, Aboubeker died at Shiraz, and left his government to his son, Saad the Second, who, when this event occurred, was with the army of Hulakoo, the grandson of Chenghiz Khan[c]. This prince

* After that prince had been defeated by Chenghiz, and obliged to fly across the Indus, he returned, through Scind and Mekran, to Persia.

[a] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[b] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

hastened to take possession of his inheritance, but was seized with an illness, which terminated his existence before he could reach his capital. His infant son was placed upon the musnud; and the rule devolved upon the child's mother, Khatoon Toorkan[d]; a princess who was remarkable for her beauty, her high birth[e], and her unbounded liberality. The hoarded treasures of the family were generously bestowed on her most faithful adherents, and her army; but her authority received a great shock in the death of her son, who, two years and a half after his advancement, fell from the terrace of his palace, and was killed.

A chief of the family of Sulghour, called Mahomed, was raised to the dignity of Atta-beg: but Khatoon Toorkan, being displeased with his conduct, seized him and sent him prisoner to Hulakoo, while she elevated his brother, Seljook, whom she had released from prison, to the government. This prince, who appeared at first of excellent disposition, with a view of confirming his power, married Khatoon Toorkan; but soon afterwards, in a fit of intoxication, ordered one of his slaves to strike off her head. The cruel mandate was obeyed; and the head of this beautiful but ambitious princess, was presented in a golden charger to her drunken husband, as he sat carousing with his dissolute companions[f]. With a savage and phrensied joy, he seized the head, tore out two rich rubies from the ears, and threw them to the favourite singer of the assembly. Some officers of the Emperor Hulakoo who were present, expressed their feelings at this horrid act, and were instantly put to death by the inconsiderate prince. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the son of Chenghiz when he heard of these proceedings. He ordered the execution of the brother[g] of Seljook, (who had remained in his camp as a hostage for the

[d] This, as has been before mentioned, is a very common name for a princess in Persia. It signifies a lady of Turkish descent.

[e] She was the sister of Atta-beg Allah-u-deen, ruler of Yezd.

[f] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[g] The name of this prince was Mahomed.

fidelity of his family,) and commanded two strong corps to attack Fars. Seljook, having recovered from his debauch, trembled at the recollection of his crimes, and dreading the vengeance of the emperor, fled to Kazeroon; but he was pursued and taken, and received, in an ignominious death, that punishment which he had so richly merited. He was succeeded by Aish Khatoon, a princess of the house of Sulghour, who had married Mangou Timour, the son of Hulakoo [h]. This princess died at Tabreeze, and with her terminated the family of Sulghour, who were Atta-begs or rulers of Fars and some of the adjoining provinces, for more than a century.

The Atta-begs of Laristan, though their power was more limited, merit to be briefly mentioned. That wild mountainous country has been inhabited from the earliest ages by rude barbarians, whose submission has hardly ever been complete, even to the most powerful monarchs of Persia. Most of the tribes in Laristan are an aboriginal race, and the language at present spoken in that province is a dialect of the Pehlivi. The Turkish conquerors of Persia had little temptation to invade their mountains; and had they done so, it is probable they would not have been successful; for the hardy inhabitants cherished an independence, which nature had made it easy for them to defend. Accident however rendered this proud and savage race subject for a considerable time to chiefs of foreign descent.

In the various migrations of the tribes of Tartary, several of them have, at different periods, either come or been brought form the plains of Syria [i] into Persia: a hundred families of one of these tribes had been welcomed to the mountains of Laristan. At a great feast given by a chief of that country,

[h] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[i] The Shamloo, or "Sons of Syria," are, perhaps, at this moment, one of the most numerous of all the Turkish tribes in Persia. The Karagoozoloo, the Baharloo, and several other tribes in Persia, are branches of the Shamloo, who were brought into Persia from Syria by Timour.

some youths of the Syrian tribe were present: the steward[k] of the entertainment carried, by mistake, the first dish to a Syrian, called Abul Hussein, on whose mind this accident made a deep impression; and he observed to his friends, that he felt assured what had occurred was an omen of that greatness which his family was destined to attain[l]. This interpretation of the steward's mistake was rumoured abroad, and occasioned some jealousy between the tribes. A few days afterwards, Aly, the son of Abul Hussein, had a quarrel with some men of the opposite tribe, on the hills where they were feeding their flocks[m]. The men of Laristan fell on him, beat him till they conceived him dead, and then threw him into a cave. His dog, unable to defend his master, retired to a distance, but watched the murderers as they returned; and seeing the man stoop who had been the most active in the assault, flew at his throat, and tore it so that he instantly expired. After taking this revenge, the animal ran howling to the tents of his master's family; who, observing it without Aly, anticipated some misfortune: in this they were confirmed, by the dog turning round and running off, still howling, towards the mountains. They followed it to the cave into which the unfortunate Aly had been cast. He was found in a dreadful state, but not dead, and lived to relate what had happened[n]. A feud between the small tribe of Syrians and that of Laristan was the consequence. The first result of this feud was, the departure of the family of Aly to Fars; where his eldest son acquired great fame as a soldier. But his grandson, Abou Taher, became still more renowned; and the valour he displayed in an attack on Shuban Karrah[o] pleased Atta-

[k] The Sooffrachee; which literally means, the person who spread the cloth for the entertainment.

[l] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[m] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[n] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[o] A small fortified village in the district of Deishestan, situated a few miles from Abusheher.

beg Sunkur[p] so much, that he desired him to demand what he chose. "Give me a horse," said the youth, "that will bear me proudly in the day of battle."—"Ask again," said Sunkur.—"If you do not deem it improper," said Abou Taher, "make me an Atta-beg."—"Ask again," was the reply.—"Then grant me some troops, and I will reduce to your authority the tribes of Laristan[q]." The Atta-beg complied with all the requests; and the young soldier marched, with five thousand men, into the country from which his grandfather had been compelled to depart. His fame and courage, aided by the support of his tribe, and by that impression which the most trifling circumstance often makes upon ignorant and superstitious minds, gave him complete success; and that fortune which Abul Hussein had anticipated for his family, was realized in the person of his great-grandson, Abou Taher. Gratitude, however, does not appear to have been among the virtues of the fortunate young chief; whose first act, after his power was confirmed, was to throw off his allegiance to the ruler of Fars; and we are told, that he left to his son, Hazar Asp, the independent rule of the whole of Laristan. That prince[r], by his courage and wisdom, not only raised the rugged province to as great prosperity as it has ever enjoyed, but added to the possessions of his family, by the conquest of several neighbouring districts. He invited a large body of his own tribe of Emâks from Syria; and their settlement in Laristan added greatly to the strength of his government[s]. Hazar Asp was succeeded by his son, Tokhlah, who was Atta-beg when Hulakoo Khan overthrew the empire of the caliphs. Tokhlah unfortunately fell under the displeasure of that powerful sovereign; he was made prisoner, and carried to

[p] The ruler of Fars.

[q] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[r] Some authors name this dynasty of Atta-begs after this prince, whose appellation of *Hazar Asp*, which means "a thousand horse," had probably some allusion either to his prowess or power.

[s] Tuarikh Guzedah.

Tabreeze[t]; leaving Laristan to his brother, Oulub Arghoun, who, with his descendants, became officers of the Moghul princes of the house of Chenghiz. It is needless to recapitulate their names. The most renowned of them was Yusuph Shah Bahauder. The title of Bahauder, we are informed, was given to this chief by Sultan Abaka, on account of the great valour he displayed at the head of the troops of Laristan, in a campaign in Ghilan. He received a still more substantial reward for his services, by being appointed governor of several rich provinces, adjoining to that which he had inherited.

It would be at once tedious and useless to enter any further into the history of the different provinces of Persia during this period of confusion. Enough has been said to illustrate the reigns of those races of chiefs and princes, who usurped, upon the weakness of the latter monarchs of the Seljookian dynasty, and enjoyed, a local power, till they were swept away by the hordes of Tartary, under the celebrated Hulakoo; but we find, at this period of Persian history, a power existing in that country, of a very different nature to any that has been yet noticed. A family of chiefs had, through the means of superstition, established an influence over their followers, that enabled them to strike awe into the most powerful sovereigns, and to fill a kingdom with horror and dismay for nearly two centuries. Their ruler, who may be justly termed the chief of the assassins[u], resided on a lofty mountain, and fate was in his hands; for

[t] According to the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, he was put to death.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. page 431.

[u] A colony of the sect of Ismail, and followers of Hussun Subah, appear to have settled in the mountains between Tortosa and Tripolis. Their chief is called by the historian of the Crusades, the Old Man of the Mountain, or the Ancient: they made themselves formidable by the same means as those settled in Persia, of whom Maimbourg, the historian of the holy war, terms them a branch. He states, that their name, "assassin," was from a Persian word, and that "they came from the confines of Persia beyond Babylon." He records their murder of the Marquess Conrade in A.D. 1192.—Vide English Translation, p. 210.

there was no shape his followers could not assume, no danger they would not brave, to fulfil his commands. More than fifty thousand men gloried in the name of the mysterious and the devoted[x]; and every one of these obeyed, with equal promptitude, an order to sacrifice his own life, or to take that of another. The history of such a community has peculiar interest, as it presents the human character in a new and a singular light.

The first of these chiefs was Hussan Subah; and from him they are termed Hussunee[y], or the followers of Hussun. Hussun Subah was first a mace-bearer to Alp-Arselan; but, in consequence of a quarrel with Nizam-ul-Mulk, the minister of that prince[z], he retired to Rhe[a]; thence he went to Syria, where he entered into the service of a chief of the family of Ismail, and adopted the tenets of that sect. Its followers maintain, that the descendants of Ismail, the eldest son of Jaaffer, the sixth Imaum, who died during his father's life, should have succeeded to that holy dignity; and they not only reject the right of Kauzim, the seventh Imaum, who was the younger[b] brother of Ismail, but of all who succeeded him. Hussun, after becoming a zealous

[x] Their Persian names were Bâttenee and Fedavee. The name of Bâttenee, which is derived from bâtten, "secret" or "mysterious," means a secret or mysterious person. It was probably given from the followers of Hussun Subah being considered to belong to the mystic sect of Bâttaneeah, or "the concealed." For a description of this sect, see the Asiatic Researches, vol. xi. pp. 423 and 424. The word Fedavee means "a devoted servant."

[y] The English word "assassin" is said to be a corruption of this term.

[z] Hussun Subah was a schoolfellow of Nizam-ul-Mulk; and they, with another companion, had made an early agreement to share their fortunes, if any of them attained to eminence. The minister appointed Hussun to an office; but that chief was not to be satisfied with gradual advancement. After failing in an attempt to supplant and ruin his friend, he abandoned the court.

[a] Taarikh Guzedah.

[b] He was only the half brother; and the mother of Kauzim was a Kunneez, or "slave;" another objection with the Ismailians against admitting his right to the dignity of Imaum.

convert to the doctrines of this sect, returned to Persia; but was compelled to conceal himself, as he knew he was still an object of hostility to Nizam-ul-Mulk. He lived, we are told, at Isfahan, in the house of Rais[c] Abou Fazel Lumbhanee, to whom he one day observed, "That, if he had two or three friends on whom he could entirely depend, he would overturn the empire[d]." The good Rais heard with astonishment his guest speak of destroying, by the aid of two or three men, a kingdom that stretched from Antioch to Kashgar. He made no reply at the moment; but, on reflection, he concluded that Hussun was deranged in his intellects: having consulted a physician, he obtained some medicine, which he brought, and, with all the sincerity of simplicity and good-nature, prayed his friend to take it. Hussun smiled, but made no further communications to one who, he saw, was not of a character to be intrusted with the designs he had formed. Soon after, he departed for his native town, Rhe, where he met with some discontented persons, who declared themselves ready to assist him. The principal of these was Rais Muzuffer, who appears to have been a man of considerable influence. The first object of Hussun was to possess himself of a stronghold; and he succeeded in gaining, by a stratagem[e], the mountain fort of

[c] The word Rais may be translated esquire, according to the ancient signification of that word in English. It implies the possession of landed estate, and some magisterial power. The Rais is in general the hereditary head of a village. This name is derived from the Arabic word Ras, which signifies "the head."

[d] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[e] Hussun is said by Mahomedan authors to have gained Allahamout, as Dido did Carthage, by obtaining leave to take as much ground as he could cover with a bull's hide, and cutting it into thongs that surrounded the whole fort. But this appears a common fable in the East; for Moullah Saaduck, a very respectable man, with whom I read this passage in the original Persian, smiled when we came to it, and said, "The English are well acquainted with this deception." I asked what he meant. "Why," said he, "is it not known to all the world that this is the exact way in which you obtained the ground on which Calcutta is built from the poor Emperor elhi?"

Allahamout[f], near Kazveen[g]. From this fortress he commenced depredations on the surrounding country, which led Malik Shah Seljookee to detach a force to reduce him. Hussun had only seventy followers, and was on the point of being taken, when a seasonable succour of three hundred men from Rhe enabled him to make a successful sally, which induced the sultan's army to raise the siege. It was at this time that Nizam-ul-Mulk fell into disgrace with Malik Shah[h], and was assassinated, as before mentioned[i], by a follower of Hussun Subah, who readily united with the enemies of that great man; and we may conclude, that while he gratified personal revenge, he contemplated the death of this minister as an event likely to throw the kingdom into that state of confusion, which was requisite for accomplishing his own plans.

Although the divisions which distracted Persia after the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk and of Malik Shah were most favourable to Hussun, he was soon afterwards in great danger of being destroyed. The celebrated Sultan Sanjar[k] resolved to extirpate, ere they gained greater strength, a race whose murders and depredations spread terror over his kingdom. He had made some marches in the direction of Allahamout, when, waking one morning, he discovered a poniard stuck up to the hilt in the ground close to his bed-side, and read, with surprise, the following label on its handle: "Sultan Sanjar, beware! Had not thy character been respected, the hand that stuck this dagger into the hard ground, could with more ease have plunged it into thy soft bosom[l]." The warrior, who was insensible to fear in

[f] This fortress is sometimes called Almowut. Allahamout, I was assured by a well-informed native of Persia, signifies "the eagle's nest," in the language of the province in which it is situated.

[g] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[h] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[i] Vide page 220.

[k] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[l] Tuarikh Guzedah.

the field of battle, is said to have trembled as he read this scroll[m]; and it is certain that he desisted from the attack he had meditated.

It is related, that some time before this, Hussun Subah received a visit from his old host at Isfahan, Rais Aboul Fazel. When the latter approached, the chief took his hand, and said, with a smile, "Have you brought any physic, my good friend, to cure me of my insanity? or will you now believe, that two or three brave men united can do wonders?"—"I always thought you an able man," replied Aboul Fazel; "but I never expected that you would do what you have done."—"My task is only half accomplished," said Hussun; "I have hitherto trusted to my political skill, I mean now to try what faith can effect."

The religious doctrines which Hussun taught his followers, differed materially from the established worship of Persia. He maintained the principles of the Ismailee sect, so far as recognising the right of that family to the dignity of Imaum[n]; but he introduced many new tenets more conformable to the opinions of the Sooffees, or philosophical deists, than to those of orthodox Mahomedans. The Koran, he admitted, was a holy volume; but he insisted that its spirit, and not its literal meaning, was to be observed. He rejected the usual modes of worship: true devotion, he said, was seated in the soul; and prescribed forms might disturb, though they could never aid, that secret and fervent adoration which it must always offer to its Creator[o]. But the principal tenet which Hussun Subah inculcated, was a complete and absolute devotion to himself and his descendants. His disciples were instructed to consider him more as their spiritual[p] than their worldly leader. The means he took to

[m] The Tuarikh Guzedah states, that it was believed one of the *devoted* (as the followers of Hussun were called) had made acquaintance with a lady of Sanjar's haram, and persuaded her to this act.

[n] Persian Manuscript.

[o] Persian Manuscript.

[p] The author of the Dabistan mentions a work of Hussun Subah, in

instil this feeling into their minds must have been powerful, from the effect produced. When an envoy from Malik Shah came to Allahamout, Hussun commanded one of his subjects to stab himself; and another, to cast himself headlong from a precipice. Both instantly obeyed! "Go," said he to the astonished envoy, "and explain to your master the character of my followers."

Among other modes which he adopted to secure the devotion of his disciples, was one of an extraordinary nature. He had them conveyed, when in a deep sleep produced by opium, into a splendid palace with beautiful gardens; when there, they were regaled for a few days with all that could gratify and delight the senses. In a second intoxication, the deluded disciple was carried to his home, and easily persuaded that he had been permitted, through the power of Hussun, to taste by anticipation the joys of Paradise. But this seems an improbable tale, invented[q] by Mahomedans, who hold this sect in great abhorrence.

The use of wine was strictly forbidden to the Hussunees, and they were enjoined the most temperate and abstemious habits. He enforced his precepts with the greatest severity; and two of his sons, we are told, died under the blows he gave them, in consequence of their disobedience. On sending his wife and two daughters to his friend, Rais Muzuffer, that they might be in safety when he was besieged, he di-

which the tenets of his faith are explained. Like all the principal Sooffee teachers, he dwells on the necessity of man placing implicit reliance in a perfect and unerring religious instructor. The name of the sect of this chief was Bâtteneeah, or "the concealed."

[q] The power of superstition over the human mind is certainly sufficient to account for all the arts of his followers: we have recently seen similar effects produced among a race, not unlike those with whom his arts succeeded. A follower of the modern Wahabee, who, a few years ago, stabbed an Arabian chief near Bussorah, not only refused to save his life, but anxiously courted death, grasping in his hand a paper which he seemed to prize far beyond his existence. This, when examined, proved to be an order from the Wahabee chief for an emerald palace, and a number of beautiful female slaves, in the regions of eternal bliss.—*Persian MSS.*

rected that they should receive no support but what they could earn by spinning; thus setting an example to his followers of that moderation and independence which were necessary to the success of their community.

Hussun Subah added several other hill-forts to the one he had first seized. That of Roodbar, which is also near Kazveen, was the next to Allahamout in consequence. He was styled Shaikh-ul-Jubal, an Arabic title, which signifies "the Chief of the Mountains." This title has been literally but erroneously[r] translated, "the Old Man of the Mountain," the name by which this ruler and his descendants are known in Eur pean history.

When Hussun Subah died, he was succeeded by his son, Keah Buzoorg Oomeid, or "Keah of great hope." Sultan Mahomed Seljookee sent an army against this chief; but his general was forced to retreat, after an unsuccessful attempt on the fortress of Roodbar. A truce was concluded with Keah, and that ruler sent an envoy to Isfahan, who was received with distinction at court; but the populace, less patient than their sovereign, were so irritated at seeing a representative of a chief of assassins[s] in the capital of Persia, that they proceeded to the house of the envoy, and tore him to pieces[t]. The sultan immediately sent a mission to Keah, to disclaim any share in this murder; but that chief declared he would never be pacified unless the perpetrators of this outrage were given up to his vengeance. It was impossible for Mahomed to discover the most guilty among the numerous mob who had committed this violence; and Keah, impatient of delay, sent a party of his men to Kazveen, which they entered in disguise, and, making an

[r] Shaikh means an elder, and also a holy teacher; but when used in describing any person possessing temporal power, it can only be correctly translated "chief, or lord."

[s] One manuscript states, that the indignation of the mob was inflamed by the priests, who represented the sect of Hussun as being still more abominable from their heresies than their murders.

[t] Tuarikh Guzedah.

unexpected attack, slew one of the chief magistrates and four hundred of the inhabitants, and carried off an immense booty[u]. This act of revenge for the blood of his envoy brought on a contest between Keah and Sultan Mahomed, which did not terminate till the death of that monarch; after which, Keah not only defeated the royal troops, but conquered the country of Ghilan; the governor of which he made prisoner, and put to death[x].

Keah died at Roodbar, and was succeeded by his son, Mahomed; who, after a rule of three years, resigned[y] his dignity to a prince of the family of Ismail, called Hussein-ebn-Nasser, who had fled from Syria Roodbar[z]. But Mahomed probably only gave up the name of power, as he constituted himself the vizier of the prince, whom religious considerations had led him to raise to the dignity of chief ruler. The murders committed by this tribe became daily more frequent; every one who was deemed their enemy fell by an assassin. One caliph had been stabbed at Bagdad; another (Raschid), because he had threatened this tribe with vengeance, was murdered[a], as he lay dangerously ill, by men who seemed to fear that death would rob them of their prey. The principal moullahs, or chief priests of Persia, shocked at these sacrilegious acts, called upon Sultan Sanjar to purge his dominions of such vile heretics[b]. But that prince had been once warned, and proceeded with caution. He sent a mission to Roodbar; and Hussein-ebn-Nasser assured his envoy that his followers had been calumniated, and that they were good Mahomedans. A pious doctor of laws was deputed by Sanjar to

[u] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[x] His name was Aboul Haschem.

[y] Khondemir rejects the tale of this resignation as a fable.

[z] Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

[a] In the History of the Arabs, the murder of the caliph is not ascribed to the followers of Hussun; but the Kholasaat-ul-Akbar confirms the account I have followed.

[b] Tuarikh Guzedah.

ascertain this point, and the sultan was, or pretended to be, satisfied with his report.

When Mahomed, the son of Keah, died, Hussein-ebn-Nasser would not allow any successor to be appointed, but usurped the whole power, which he disgraced by his violence and intemperance. His conduct was deemed more scandalous, as he was descended from ancestors[c] who had cut down the rich vineyards of Egypt, lest they should be tempted to taste the juice of the grape[d].

This debauched chief was slain by his own relations, who placed his son, Allah-u-deen Mahomed, upon the throne. The first act of the young prince was to put to death those by hom he had been elevated. An occurrence took place during Allah-u-deen's rule, illustrating the nature of that secret power which the Chief of the Mountains exercised. Fakhr Razee, a doctor of laws, and an eminent divine, who used to be styled "the Imaum of Rhe," his native town, had been supposed to lean to the opinions of the Ismailee sect; and to do away this impression, expressed his abhorrence of this race, and of their tenets, in the pulpit[e]. Some time after he had uttered this anathema, he was surprised to see a man, who had been one of his most attentive disciples for several days, enter his private chamber; and still more, when, seizing him by the beard, and pointing a dagger to his breast, this person asked him if he knew who

[c] The Ismailian, or Fatimite Caliphs, were descended (as has been before stated) from Ismail, the eldest of the sixth Imaum; and on the second son of that Imaum being proclaimed his successor, a sect was formed which supported their title as the descendants of the elder branch. The first of this dynasty was Aboul Kausim, who began his reign in the year of the Hejirah 296, (A.D. 998.) The last, *Adhed*, resigned his power in the year of the Hejirah 567, (A.D. 1171,) to the famous Sallah-u-deen. Ul-Kausim, the sixth of this race, ordered all the vines in the vicinity of Cairo to be cut down; and forbade even the frequent intercourse of females of different families: but the Egyptians accud him of being indulgent to vice n his own family; and his death was caused by an intrigue of his sisters.

[d] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[e] Tuarikh Guzedah.

he was. "I am quite ignorant who you are," said the trembling divine, "and still less can I conjecture why you seek my life."—"You abused the sect of Ismail!" said the man.—"I was wrong," replied the learned doctor: "I repent, and will never do so again."—"Swear by the holy prophet to what you have now said!" cried the assailant.—"I swear!" said the Imaum.—"Very well," said the man, quitting his hold. "I have particular orders not to slay you, or my poniard should before this have been crimsoned with the blood of your heart. Allah-u-deen desires me to present you his respects, and to ask if you are well informed of the tenets of that sect which you have dared to abuse? He advises you to be most careful of your future conduct; and as he has a respect for your character, he sends you this bag, which contains three hundred and sixty gold mohurs; and here is an order for a similar sum to be paid you annually by one of his agents[f]." The divine took the money, and continued for many years to receive his pension. His pupils could not but remark, that, in his subsequent lectures, he carefully abstained from mentioning the followers of Ismail. He was wont to observe, in reply to such observations, with a suppressed smile, that he had been convinced, by some sharp and weighty arguments, that it was better not to enter into any discussion about the doctrines of that sect.

The rule of Allah-u-deen[g] was long and prosperous; he was succeeded by his son, Jellal-u-deen Hussein, the first of this race who cultivated with success the friendship of neighbouring rulers. Even the Caliph of Bagdad relaxed from his orthodoxy, and showered honours on the envoy of this prince[h]; and, in reply to a reference made to him by the Governor of Ghilan, whose sister Jellal-u-deen desired to marry, the Commander of the Faithful wrote, that such

[f] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[g] He governed the Ismailees forty-six years.

[h] Khondemir states, that he conciliated the caliph by renouncing the creed of his ancestors, and burning all the books of his sect. But the Ismailees do not admit this.

an alliance would be an honour to the noblest family in his dominions. Jellal-u-deen engaged in no war, except with the Governor of Irak; and the first campaign closed, as was usual, in the death of the person who had ventured to attack the Chief of the Mountains. The conquests of Chenghis Khan commenced about this period; and an envoy was deputed to Transoxania, from the Court of Allahamout, to propitiate the hero. Jellal-u-deen died the following year. He is celebrated in Persian history for the kindness and generosity of his disposition; and we are informed that this prince of the assassins was the handsomest man of his age. His son, Allah-u-deen Mahomed, a boy of ten years of age, was next elevated to the rule; and this young prince[i], soon after his accession, put to death all his principal officers, on a pretext that they had poisoned his father. Though he seems to have been saved by his sacred character from the vengeance he had provoked, he is said to have been shunned and deserted by his followers, and to have fallen into a deep melancholy. In the hope of recovering him from this condition, his ministers were desirous of obtaining for him the society of Nasser-u-deen[k], the most celebrated philosopher of the age; but that able man, who resided at Bokharah, rejected all the offers made to tempt him to so barbarous a court as that of Allahamout[l]. He had to negotiate with a ruler whose agents were accustomed to consider his will as a divine mandate. The officer who governed Kohistan[m] under Allah-u-deen, received an order to produce the philo-

[i] If he really acted from himself, as Persian authors state, the obedience given to such orders from a child, is a proof of the blind devotion of this tribe to the family of their founder.

[k] The name of this able man was Mahomed Ben Hassan. Nasser-u-deen, which was his title, may be translated "the champion," or "defender of the faith." He was deemed one of the first mathematicians, astronomers, and philosophers of Asia.

[l] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[m] Kohistan, which signifies "mountainous," is the name given to the countries amid the ranges of mountains to the north-east of Kazveen.

sopher; and, as Nasser-u-deen was one day sauntering in the gardens near Bokharah, he was suddenly surrounded by some men, who, pointing to a horse, desired him to mount, promising him good usage if he made no resistance. He could only oppose arguments which were unheeded; and he was half way to Kohistan[n] before his friends knew that he was gone[o]. The governor of that province received him with great honou , and made a thousand apologies for the violence he had committed. He detained him a long time in Kohistan; and it was during his captivity in that mountainous region, that Nasser-u-deen wrote the most celebrated of all his philosophical treatises, which he styled Akhlaak-Nasseree, or "The Morals of Nasser[p]," in compliment to the barbarian who had stolen him from his home: but this flattery did not produce the effect intended. The philosopher, instead of obtaining his liberty, was doomed to become the companion and tutor of a gloomy youth, who must, however, have had some good qualities, as he appears to have been fully sensible of the value of his great prize[q].

Allah-u-deen Mahomed was slain by one of his own servants, in his hall of audience, and was succeeded by his son, Ruken-u-deen, better known under the name of Kaher Shah; who, after a weak and ineffectual struggle, fell before Hulakoo Khan. That conqueror not only made him prisoner, but took and dismantled all his strong holds[r], which, according to some authors, amounted to a hundred[s]. The extinction of this family may be fixed at this date; though a small branch, with very limited power, remained till the

[n] The distance from Bokharah to Kohistan is upwards of 600 miles.

[o] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[p] Nasser-u-deen Abdul Rahim was the name of the chief who governed Kohistan under Allah-u-deen.

[q] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[r] Upwards of twelve thousand of the Ismailees were put to death by Hulakoo.

[s] Tuarikh Guzedah.

reign of Shah Rokh Meerza, when they were finally destroyed by the Governor of Ghilan.

Though none of the sect of Ismail have ever since enjoyed power, they still exist in a scattered state. The Borahs, an industrious race of men, whose pursuits are commercial, and who are well known in the British settlements of India, belong to this sect; and they still maintain that part of the creed of Hussun Subah, which enjoins a complete devotion to their high priest; but this principle, so dreadful in its operation among a large body of assassins, can be attended with no evil in a small class of men, who have neither the disposition nor the power to disturb the peace of the community they live in.

Chapter X.

THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY THE MOGHULS, AND THE REIGN OF HULAKOO KHAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

The Tartars have been already described. We are now come to a period when all the families of that great nation were either united or subdued by the genius of one chief, who, on being declared sovereign of the tribes of Tartary, formed the vast project of subjugating the whole of Asia. Temugin, the son of a Khan, or chief, of the tribe of Moghuls, after almost unexampled vicissitudes, obtained, at the age of forty-nine, a complete victory[1] over all those

[1] Almost all the soldiers of Tartary were engaged in this great action. Mirkhond endeavours to describe their numbers by a truly oriental hyperbole. "The neighing of their steeds," he says, "made Heaven shut its ears, and their arrows converted the whole sky into one great field of reeds." The army of Oung Khan, which was defeated, left forty thousand dead on the field of battle. Their monarch escaped, to perish by the treachery of the Khan of the Naimans, who, after receiving him in a friendly manner, put him to death.

who had endeavoured to ruin him. He was not only considered by his own tribe as their deliverer from the tyranny of Oung Khan[u], the chief of the Keraites, whose armies he had defeated, but deemed, by a great majority of the Khans of Tartary, as worthy of the high dignity of khakan, or emperor; to confer which, an assembly[x], or national council, was summoned. It met at the spot of Temugin's birth; and that chief, after addressing the khans in an eloquent harangue, was seated on a black felt[y], or nummud, and reminded of the importance of the duties he was called to, by an orator, who spoke in the name of the nation. After this speech, seven khans lifted up Temugin, and carried him to a high throne in the midst of the assembly. The moment he was seated on this throne, he was saluted as Khakan[z]; and not only the chiefs, but all present, pledged their obedience to their sovereign, by bending their knees nine times before him. The air at the same time resounded with shouts of joy; and Temugin[a], who on this occasion assumed the name of

[u] Marco Polo, a Venetian priest, who travelled in Tartary about the year twelve hundred and fifty of the Christian era, calls this prince Um Khan. He also terms him "Prester John;" and this name is given him by some other authors; but it appears more likely to belong to the Dalai Lama, the chief priest of the Tartars.

Piccard (vol. iv. page 353) supposes this name to be a jargonish compound of prêtre, the French for "priest," and jehan, which in Persian means "the world," signifying "the Pontiff of the Universe;" but prester seems a contraction of presbyter, "a priest," from which the French word prêtre itself comes. It is not impossible that Oung Khan had been converted to Christianity by the Nestorian Missionaries, and received the name of John at his baptism. This conjecture is at least more probable than that the Khan of the Keraites assumed a mixed European and Persian title. The Tartar tribes have at no period condescended to borrow names or titles from the Persians.

[x] This assembly of the Tartar nobles is called Coroultai.

[y] This felt, dignified by the fortune of Chenghiz, was long preserved by his successors, and considered almost as a sacred relic.

[z] This ceremony took place three years after he had been acknowledged khan of his own tribe.

[a] This chief was of high family; but the flatterers of his greatness give him a celestial descent, pretending that the Princess Alankoua, the grand-

Chenghiz Khan, assured his voluntary subjects, that he would repay the great honours they had bestowed on him, by making their name famous in the furthest regions of the earth.

It is foreign to this history to relate the actions of Chenghiz Khan; but the rules which that extraordinary monarch established for the civil government of the country and his army, cannot be passed unnoticed. His ordinances for the civil administration of his territories were, perhaps, indifferently observed; but his military regulations formed the basis of the only discipline that has ever been introduced into the armies of his successors. The majority of his subjects were idolaters; but all were commanded to obey one supreme and all-powerful Creator; and those who subscribed to this leading tenet, were allowed to follow what mode of worship they thought proper [b]. He forbade any Khan to proclaim himself Khakan without a regular assembly of the chiefs of the tribes, to be conducted in the same manner as that at his own election. He forbade the use of titles, and claimed for himself only that of Khan, or Khakan. He ordained, in the true spirit of a ruler of Tartary, that peace should never be made with a nation on whom the Tartars had once made war, until it was subdued [c]. Every subject of the Khakan was compelled to serve the state. Those who were not soldiers were obliged to work a certain number of days annually for the benefit of the country; and one day of labour in every week was the right of the emperor. Theft, when the article was of value, was punished by

daughter of Yelduz-Khan, conceived from a ray of the sun, and bore, as she foretold, three sons; one of whom, Buzunjur, was the immediate ancestor of Chenghiz.

Major Price, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, states that Alankoua, the mother of Buzunjur, dreamt that her conception was from a person she saw in a dream, with a flaming torch, and that the rays of light were seen to enter the pavilion in which she slept. She had three sons at a birth, and they were called "the children of light."—*Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. p. 472.

[b] Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, p. 79.

[c] Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, p. 81.

death; when trifling, by flogging: but this punishment was remitted, if the party paid nine times the value of the article stolen. No Tartar could employ a person of his own nation as a domestic servant: an important regulation, which, while it nourished a proud spirit and increased the number of soldiers, forced the Tartars to take care of their captives, for the sake of employing them in menial offices. Polygamy was admitted; but the children by wives ranked higher than those by slaves, although the latter were not despised. Adulterers were put to death. One tribe, that of Kaindu, murmured at this law, as it was with them a custom to lend their wives to their friends [d]. The Khakan made an exception in their favour, but stamped them with ignominy on account of this shameful usage.

The importance of terminating feuds among the tribes of Tartary is very great; this is often effected by intermarriages. To extend so desirable a practice, Chenghiz permitted [e] two families to unite their deceased children in a contract of marriage; and the relationship established by this act [f] was the same as if the parties were living. These are some of his principal civil regulations. His imperfect code was well adapted to the society it was intended to improve. It contained little; but it was established among a people whose habits were those of savage life, and who were impatient of restraint. The privilege which Chenghiz had assumed of framing laws for his subjects, belonged, of course, to his successors, who were at liberty to change or revoke his ordinances. Hence they can perhaps only be looked on as formal and solemn precepts for the guidance of his descendants [g]: but even in that light such institutions

[d] Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, p. 86.

[e] Travels of Rubruquis.

[f] This is said to be still an usage in Tartary. They throw the contract into the fire, and conceive that the smoke ascends to the departed children, who marry in the other world. Petit de la Croix, in his Life of Chenghiz, mentions this; and I find it stated in a Persian MS. written by a man of learning and information.

[g] These laws were observed by his immediate successors, and probably

had great value; they derived respect from their source, and could never be infringed without danger of serious discontent.

The military regulations of Chenghiz were simple, but well adapted to an army composed like his. His force was divided into tomauns, or divisions, of ten thousand each, under a general. These tomauns were subdivided into corps of a thousand; every one of which had a commander appointed by the emperor. This corps was subdivided into ten companies, of a hundred men, and these into sections of ten, and an officer was nominated to every company and section. All the officers, from the general of a tomaun to the commander of a section of ten men, were registered and made responsible for those under them. Attention was paid to the different tribes in these regulations, and their chiefs were the principal officers. A camp, or wurdu, consisting of several tomauns, of ten thousand, was allotted to each of his four sons, whom he employed as his leading generals. Strict regulations were established concerning booty taken from the enemy. No person could plunder without an order; but when that was issued, the lowest soldier had as full a right to what he took as his leader.

The army of Chenghiz, which exceeded six hundred thousand men, was never idle. A campaign against an enemy was less harassing than the exercise which he gave them in hunting, when not engaged in any military enterprise. By one of his laws, no person was allowed to kill game of any description from March till October [h], the season when the grand hunt commenced. A central plain

remained in force until the conversion of the Tartars to the religion of Mahomed. Sultaun Shahrokh, the son of Timour, in his letter to Day-ming, Emperor of China, expressly says, "That he governs his possessions according to the dictates of the holy law of the prophet, and its positive and negative precepts, and that the institutions of Chenghiz have been abolished." —*Asiatic Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 89.

[h] Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, p. 82.

was fixed on, and the army thrown up round it at a distance of more than a hundred miles. This immense circle was gradually reduced, and the greatest care was taken to cover the whole country, so as to drive the game toward one point. As they approached this, the ranks closed, and every effort was used to prevent the multitude of different animals from escaping, which was more difficult, as the troops were not allowed to kill them. When all had reached their destination, the emperor erected his throne upon an eminence, whence he could see the whole plain; and every tribe was allowed to send some of its bravest youth, who displayed before their monarch their courage and skill in combats with the most furious of the wild beasts. Chenghiz sometimes amused himself with the chase, and at others allowed the princes of the blood to dispute, in the attack of the lion or tiger, the prize of valour with the lowest of his subjects[i]. The army was usually engaged in this hunt during the whole winter; and, while the severity of the season inured his troops to fatigue, Chenghiz had an opportunity to judge of the skill and courage of his officers and soldiers; for, in traversing countries interspersed with forests, mountains, and rivers, success depended in a great degree on the judgment of the leaders and the alacrity of the men; and frequent opportunities were offered for displaying superior activity and bravery. When the carnage had been considerable, some of the youngest princes advanced to his throne, and, kneeling before him, solicited his mercy for the surviving game[k]. Their petition was granted: at a signal the army opened its ranks, and the affrighted animals fled towards their native plains and mountains[l].

[i] Persian Manuscript.

[k] Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, p. 266.

[l] An English poet has admirably described the different scenes of this royal hunt:—

—— In parties, here and there
Detach'd, o'er hill and dale, the hunters range,

The first effort of Chenghiz, after attaining the dignity of Khakan, was to reduce the whole of Tartary, in which, after several great actions, he completely succeeded. The empire of China, or Khatai[m], was the next object of his am-

Inquisitive; strong dogs, that match in fight
The boldest brute, around their masters wait,
A faithful guard. No haunt unsearch'd, they drive
From every covert, and from every den,
The lurking savages. Incessant shouts
Re-echo through the woods, and kindling fires
Gleam from the mountain tops; the forest seems
One mingling blaze: like flocks of sheep, they fly
Before the flaming brand: fierce lions, pards,
Boars, tigers, bears, and wolves; a dreadful crew
Of grim, blood-thirsty foes! growling along,
They stalk indignant; but fierce vengeance still
Hangs pealing on their rear, and pointed spears
Present immediate death.

At last, within the narrow plain confin'd,
A listed field, mark'd out for bloody deeds,
An amphitheatre, more glorious far
Than ancient Rome could boast, they crowd in heaps,
Dismay'd, and quite appall'd. In meet array,
Sheath'd in refulgent arms, a noble band
Advance, great lords of high imperial blood,
Early resolv'd to assert the royal race,
And prove, by glorious deeds, their valour's growth
Mature, ere yet the callow down has spread
Its curling shade.

Now the loud trumpet sounds a charge: the shouts
Of eager hosts, through the circling line,
And the wild howlings of the beasts within,
Rend wide the welkin! flights of arrows, wing'd
With death, and javelins launch'd from every arm,
Gall sore the brutal bands, with many a wound
Gored through and through. Despair at last prevails,
When fainting nature shrinks, and rouses all
Their drooping courage: swell'd with furious rage,
Their eyes dart fire; and on the youthful band
They rush implacable. They their broad shields
Quick interpose: on each devoted head
Their flaming falchions, as the bolts of Jove,
Descend unerring. Prostrate on the ground
The grinning monsters lie, and their foul gore
Defiles the verdant plain.

SOMERVILLE'S *Chase*.

[m] Khatai, as it is termed by Mahomedan historians, signifies "the seven (or, agreeably to some, the five) northern provinces of China," which are all that Chenghiz subdued. Marco Polo, who travelled in the thirteenth century, describes Cambalu, the capital of Khatai, as a noble city, nearly

bition: this great and arduous enterprise was accomplished in two campaigns. His overthrowing the kingdom which the monarchs of Khaurizm had founded, has been already noticed. The great battle he fought with Sultan Jellal-u-deen on the Indus, completed the ruin of that dynasty. The conqueror is said to have expressed his astonishment and admiration at the vanquished hero, who, when compelled to fly, plunged with his horse into the Indus, and swam to the opposite bank, discharging arrows on the Moghuls from the midst of those waters that threatened him with destruction. Chenghiz would not allow him to be pursued; and, turning to his children, exclaimed: "How proud must a son be who has such a father! He that dares defy the dangers this prince has now escaped from, may expose himself to a thousand others; and a wise man, who has so daring an enemy, ought to be always on his guard [a]."

The whole of Persia was either subdued or overrun by the armies of Chenghiz, whose dominions, before his death, extended from the Indus to the Euxine, from the Volga to the plains of China, and from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the cold wastes of Siberia. The ravages committed by him were terrible: we have an account of them from Mahomedan authors; but they have probably exaggerated the cruelties of a prince who regarded their religion with abhorrence. After Bokharah was taken, these authors relate that pious and learned men were compelled to perform the lowest and most menial offices for their conquerors. "The Moghuls,"

twenty-four miles in circumference; but this space included, no doubt, the gardens of the emperor and his nobles. The site of Cambalu was on the north bank of a river, which flowed through one of the finest provinces of northern China. Major Price, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, states, that Kublai Khan, the grandson of Chenghiz, founded the city of Khan Baligh, (or Cambalu,) which he terms the Pekin of the moderns; and if the name Cambalu be a corruption of Khan Baligh, which means the residence of the Khan, or capital, we may conclude this appellation has, at different periods, been given to different cities.

[a] Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz, p. 319.

one writer observes, "made stables of the libraries. All the books in them were destroyed; and by an unexampled profanation, the leaves of the holy Koran were used for litter to their horses, who trampled on the sacred sentences of Mahomed[o]."

Chenghiz, we are told, lived to regret the dreadful desolation he had made, and proposed to rebuild many of the cities that he had destroyed; but age and infirmity warned him that his end was approaching: he assembled all his family, and earnestly exhorted them to live in concord[p] with each other, and to observe the laws which he had established. All promised obedience, and the Khakan expired at the age of seventy-three[q], having lived to complete the vast projects he had early formed, and to give to each of his four sons[r] a great kingdom. To his eldest, Joujee Khan, he had given the wide region of Kapchac; but that prince died a few months before his father, and left his territories to his son, Batou Khan, who conquered Russia and Bulgaria, ravaged Poland, Moravia, and Dalmatia, and had marched into Hungary to attack Constantinople, when death ended his victorious career. Octai, the eldest son of Chenghiz at his death, succeeded to the dominions of Tartary and Northern China, and was crowned Khakan. He was a humane and generous prince, well calculated to heal those wounds, which the insatiable ambition of his great but cruel

[o] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[p] Chenghiz is said to have had recourse to the popular illustration of showing the good of union, by the strength of a bundle of reeds, and the weakness of one; but the Mahomedan authors appropriately make the Tartar exhibit this experiment with a quiver of arrows.

[q] According to Rubruquis, Chenghiz died in A.D. 1227; but Mahomedan authors state, that he expired on the fourth of Ramzan 624, which corresponds with A.D. 1226.

[r] He had many other sons; but these were the only princes employed in great stations, and destined by their father for monarchy, probably on account of their high descent by their mother, Burta Koutchin, the daughter of Zei Nevian, chief of the tribe of Konharat, the first in rank among the five principal wives of Chenghiz, all of whom were of high birth.

father had inflicted. This monarch continued to be guided by the wise counsels of his brother, Chaghtai[s], the most pious and accomplished among the sons of Chenghiz; and although Chaghtai succeeded, by the will of his father, to the kingdoms of Transoxania, Bulkh, Budukshan, and Kashgar, he governed these countries by deputies, and remained with his brother, Octai, regarded by him with that reverence which a pupil gives to his master[t].

Persia, Khorassan, and Cabul, were assigned to Tuli Khan, the fourth son of Chenghiz; but that prince died[u] soon after his father. He left several sons, among whom the two eldest were the most famous; Mangou Khan[x], who succeeded Keyouk Khan, the son of Octai, in the dominion of Tartary; and Hulakoo Khan, who, after conquering the whole of Persia, proceeded westward, and destroyed all that remained of the empire of the caliphs.

Hulakoo, when detached by his brother, Mangou Khan,

[s] Commonly spelt Zagatai; but Chaghtai is more consonant to the Turkish pronunciation.

[t] We have a remarkable proof of the respect and reverence in which the Tartars held Chaghtai, in the permanence of his fame as the parent and instructor of his people. A nation assumed his name, terming themselves the Ouloss, or tribe of Chaghtai, as they are still called; and the most polished dialect of Turkish is termed Chaghtai, in memory of the prince through whose learning and encouragement of learned men it was brought to its present excellence.—See *Institutes of Baber*.

[u] He died there three years after Chenghiz.

[x] There is a curious account of this emperor and his court in the Travels of William de Rubruquis, who, as has been before stated, was sent into Tartary by Louis the Ninth of France, when that sovereign was in Palestine. Rubruquis was first sent to Sartach Khan, the son of the famous Batou Khan, to congratulate him on his becoming a Christian; but the report of his conversion proved untrue. Sartach sent the French monk on to his father, and he compelled him to proceed to the court of Mangou Khan, who treated him kindly, though he appears to have slighted the arguments by which the good Rubruquis endeavoured to make him change his faith. The Travels of Rubruquis contain much curious matter; and there is internal evidence in every page of his scrupulous attention to truth. His account of the city of Kara Koram does not correspond with the magnificent picture which many authors have drawn of that capital of the family of Chenghiz.

to subdue Persia, was attended by a chosen army[y] of veteran soldiers. His first enterprise, which has been already mentioned, entitled him to the gratitude of the country he came to conquer. The extirpating the power of the sect of Ismail, and the destruction of the strong holds of these assassins, merited a nation's gratitude; and we receive a favorable impression of the conqueror's character from the joy he testified at being able to release Nasser-u-deen, and the great estimation in which he continued to hold that eminent philosopher. Hulakoo, we are informed, had intended to march direct towards Constantinople, but was persuaded by Nasser-u-deen to turn his arms against Bagdad. His new counsellor, whose fame as an astrologer was very high, assured him the stars had decreed, that the House of Abbas should fall before that of Chenghiz[z]; and this prophecy, like many others, produced its own accomplishment. A pretext for war was soon found. It was stated, that Mustasim had not given the Tartar prince the aid, which it was his duty to have done, in his attack on a body of assassins, alike the enemies of God and of man; and the caliph was pronounced, on account of this backwardness, unworthy of the high dignity of Commander of the Faithful. The hardy Moghuls marched against his capital; while the unfortunate sovereign, acting (as several historians state) under the influence of a treacherous minister[a], trusted to vain

[y] The army he took on this expedition is computed at a hundred and fifty thousand horse. He is said, among other parts of his equipment, to have had a thousand families of Chinese artificers, skilled in constructing military machines, and preparing and using inflammable substances which were then much used in the attack of walled towns.

[z] Tuarikh Guzedah.

[a] It is natural for the historians of a country to ascribe its subjugation to perfidy rather than weakness. We are told by almost all Mahomedan authors, that Abou-taleb, vizier of the last caliph, was a Sheah, and entertained a deadly hatred to his master on account of the cruelties he had inflicted on that sect of schismatics. He veiled his treachery in a show of confidence, and lulled Mustasim into a fatal security, grounded on a contempt of his enemy; but we require no such causes to account for the success of the Tartar conqueror.

anathemas to stop the progress of a warrior, who held him and his religion in equal contempt. The capture of Bagdad; the massacre of the greatest part of its inhabitants [b]; the murder of the Caliph Mustasim and his only surviving son [c]; and the conquest of the remainder of Persia, of Mesopotamia [d], and of Syria; all these events were crowded into one year, transferred the empire of the Arabian caliphs to Hulakoo, and fulfilled the prediction of Nasser-u-deen.

The conqueror, we are told, after these successes, was desirous of returning to Tartary to take possession of the government of his native country, which had become vacant by the death of his brother, Mangou Khan: but the great defeat which the general he had left in Syria suffered from Seif-u-deen [e], the prince of the Mamelukes of Egypt, compelled him to abandon his design [f]: and, after restoring his affairs in Syria, he fixed his residence at Maragha [g], in Aderbijan, a beautiful town, situated on a fine plain watered by a small but pure stream, which, rising in the high mountains of Sahund, flows past the walls of the city, and empties itself into the neighbouring lake of Oormia [h]. The

[b] Persian authors have given the most exaggerated accounts of this massacre. We are told, that between seven and eight hundred thousand were put to death, and that the Tigris was swelled with waves of blood.

[c] Hulakoo put them both to death. The eldest son of Mustasim found a more honorable end in defending one of the gates of his father's capital.

[d] Nothing could exceed the barbarous treatment of those who held out against the Moghuls. A fortress called Miafare Keen, in the district of Diarbekir, arrested their career; but distress for provisions made the garrison force their gallant governor, Malik Kumal, or Ashráff (as others call him), to surrender. They were put to the sword; and Malik Kumal, for the few days he lived under torment, was denied any support except some pieces of his own flesh, which were torn off and given him to appease his hunger. The effect expected from these dreadful examples was produced, and every fort threw wide its gates to the conqueror.

[e] The title of this prince was Malik-ul-Muzuffer.

[f] De Guignes.

[g] Maragha is still in a very flourishing condition: it is the next city in consequence to Tabreeze, the capital of Aderbijan.

[h] This lake, generally believed to be the Spauto of Strabo, and Marcianus of Ptolemy, is about three hundred miles in circumference. Its water is quite salt, but different from that of the sea; and there are no fish in it.

banks of the river Jaghatty, which runs from the mountains of Kurdistan into the same lake, and passes within a few miles of Maragha, must have afforded excellent pasture to the horses and flocks of the Moghuls: and at this delightful spot Hulakoo appears to have employed his last years in a manner worthy of a great monarch. Philosophers and astronomers were assembled from every part of his dominions, who laboured in works of science under the direction of his favorite, Nasser-u-deen. The summit of a low mountain, close to Maragha, was levelled, and an observatory[1] built upon it: the foundation still remains, and is shown to travellers as the spot where Nasser-u-deen formed

[1] The following account of this observatory is given by Major Price, who takes it from the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur:

"For the site of his observatory, Nusseir-ud-dien fixed upon a lofty eminence north of the Tebrizian Meraughah; where being provided with a power to command, without limitation, the assistance of the officers of the imperial treasury and revenue, he succeeded in a short time in bringing the fabric to a completion. As far as we are able to collect from the original, it is described to have been furnished with some species of apparatus (perhaps an orrery) to represent the celestial sphere, with the signs of the Zodiac, the conjunctions, transits, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies. Through a perforation in the dome, the rays of the sun were admitted so as to strike upon certain lines on the pavement, in a way to indicate in degrees and minutes the altitude and declination of that luminary during every season, and marking the time and hour of the day throughout the year. It was further supplied with a map of the terrestrial globe, in all its climates or zones, exhibiting the several regions of the habitable world, as well as a general outline of the ocean, with the numerous islands contained in its bosom; all so perspicuously arranged and delineated, according to our author, as at once to remove, by the clearest demonstration, every doubt from the mind of the student. From an extraordinary difference in the sun's altitude and declination, at corresponding periods, between what was exhibited in the *Zeytch-e-Eylckhauny*, Eylekhaunian tables, now framed, and in those hitherto established, an error of surprising magnitude, and to the great confusion of chronology, was detected, in the mode formerly observed to adjust the commencement of the new year. But before this celebrated observatory had been entirely completed, the sun of Hûlaukû's power had set for ever."—*Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. page 573.

I visited the remains of this observatory in 1810, but could only trace the foundation. I had a ground plan made of it, and of the top of the mountain on which it was built.

those astronomical tables which have become so celebrated under the name of the tables of Eel-Khannee[k].

Hulakoo died at Maragha[l], and was succeeded by his son, Abaka Khan, a prince who to courage and policy, added moderation, clemency, and justice. His great object was to repair those ravages which the empire had suffered from the excesses of his father's soldiers, among whom he introduced a very strict discipline. His reign was disturbed by two great invasions[m] from Tartary. The one was made by Barkah Khan, a descendant of Chaghtai, who advanced from the plains of Kapchac into Georgia with a numerous force[n]. The death of this prince, which occurred when his army was encamped on the banks of the river Cyrus, freed Abaka from a powerful enemy. But, a few years afterwards, Borak Aghlan, another of the descendants of Chaghtai, led a still larger army across the Oxus into Khorassan, and plundered that province. He was, however, defeated by Abaka in a great action near Herat, and obliged to seek safety in a precipitate flight.

Some reverses in Syria, where he had sent his brother, Mangou Timour, with a large force, and the intrigues of his own court[o], embittered the latter years of the reign of Abaka; and his days were believed by many to have been shortened by poison[p], given to him by his minister, Shems-

[k] Eel-Khannee means the lord or chief of the tribe. It was the modest title assumed by Hulakoo, in honour of whom these tables were named. This is the same word which Major Price writes Eylekhauny.

[l] Major Price, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, says, he had marched from Maragha, and died at a place which he calls Tcheghaitû.—*Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. page 572.

[m] According to the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, the first of these invasions took place the year before Hulakoo's death, and the reverse he experienced gave him great affliction.—*Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. page 571.

[n] D'Herbelot.

[o] De Guignes.

[p] Major Price states, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, that this prince had ruined his health by drinking; and that, having fallen asleep in his chair one day, when in a very low state, he was awoke by the croaking of a raven, which had perched itself in an opposite window. This

u-deen, who, after enjoying a plenitude of power for many years, could not endure the thought of that disgrace with which his enemies, having completely gained the emperor's favour, were on the point of overwhelming him.

All eastern authors agree in praising Abaka; but some assert, that during his latter years he indulged to excess in drinking. The celebrated poet, Jellal-u-deen [q], was a subject of Abaka: and Shaikh Sadi of Shiraz, who retained to a very advanced age all the fire of his genius, informs us that he was presented to the son of the renowned Hulakoo. The nations of the West were as familiar with the name and reputation of Abaka as those of the East. He had married the daughter of Michael Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, who had been betrothed to his father, but arrived at Maragha after the death of that prince. This, and the connexion he formed with some of the potentates of Europe, when at war with the ruler of Syria and Egypt, have given rise to an opinion that he had embraced the Christian faith. But it is not supported by any satisfactory proof; and whatever private opinions he may have entertained, he never made a public profession.

At the death of Abaka, the Moghul lords held a council, and raised his brother, Neekoudar, to the throne. This prince is said to have been baptized in his youth by the name of Nicolas; but policy or conviction led him to abandon the doctrine of Christ for that of Mahomed; and, to establish his sincerity, he became the violent persecutor of the opinions he had once adopted [r]. Ahmed Khan (such was the apostate's new name), not content with destroying all the churches in his empire, ordered that every Christian should be banished from his dominions. But these violent

bad omen (for the raven is every where deemed portentous of evil) had such an effect on the superstitious sovereign, that he expired on the spot.—Price's *Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. page 577.

[q] He is usually called Moullah-e-Room, or "the Moullah of Room," in Asia Minor. This poet, though born at Bulk, lived in Anatolia.

[r] D'Herbelot.

measures brought on his ruin[s]. The Moghuls, who, though not Christians, had long lived in friendship with those who professed that religion, and who hated the Mahomedans, were indignant at the conduct of their sovereign; a complaint was made against him to the Emperor of Tartary, Kublai Khan[t], who threatened him with vengeance[u]. Ahmed seized and put to death his brother, who had been the first to complain to the khakan of his abuse of power; he also obtained possession of the person of his nephew, Arghoun; but that prince was rescued from him by the Moghul nobles, and by their aid enabled to deprive him of his crown and life. Arghoun, though he exercised the functions of a monarch, did not assume the name until he received the investiture from the Emperor of Tartary, by whom he was hailed as sovereign of Persia, Arabia, and Syria, as soon as the khakan heard the intelligence of the death of Ahmed Khan.

[s] Abulfaradge.

[t] The son and successor of Mangou Khan and the great grandson of Chenghiz. The following character of this prince is given by De Guignes, one of the most learned of European writers on Asiatic history.

"The rule of the Moghuls, hitherto severe and barbarous, changed its character in the reign of this prince, who adopted entirely the manners of the Chinese; and who is regarded, even by that people, as one of the best and most illustrious of their emperors. His reign was remarkable for great men and great events. The reason was, that the sovereign himself was great. Under him the arts and sciences flourished. His object was to render his people happy, by rewarding merit wherever he found it, by encouraging agriculture, and promoting the increase of manufactures and of commerce. If the Chinese have often been conquered, their laws have escaped that fate; for to them the conquerors of the nation have, in their turn, submitted. Most of the Moghuls abandoned their rude habits; and a great proportion, imitating the Chinese, became remarkable for their love of their country and prince. The greatest crime in China is to fail in respect or obedience to a parent, and the emperor is deemed the father of his people."—*Hist. Gen. des Huns, &c.* vol. iv. p. 267.

This is a fine picture, but it is not correct. China is now better known than in the time of De Guignes; his son principally contributed to remove the veil; and our respect for their boasted laws and government has decreased as our knowledge of them has advanced.

[u] De Guignes, vol. iv. page 264.

The reign of Arghoun Khan, the son of Abaka Khan, was marked by few events of consequence. He recalled the celebrated Shems-u-deen; who, disgusted with court, had retired to Isfahan, and proposed to go to India; but this able minister was hardly re-established in his office, before his enemies persuaded the prince that he had poisoned his father; and the aged vizier was made over to the public executioner. There appears to have been no positive evidence of his guilt; and his virtues and abilities have brought an odium on the monarch by whom he was put to death. The Ameer Boccah, the rival of Shems-u-deen, rose on his fall to such power, that he was tempted to grasp at the crown; but he was unsuccessful, and lost his life[x]. His successor as vizier was a Jew, who had been a physician; and we are told by eastern writers, that this person, who is known in their page by his title of Saad-u-doulah[y], owed his high rank to his pleasing manners and agreeable conversation.

The new minister of Arghoun, who appears to have been all-powerful, favoured and protected the Christians in Persia, and persecuted the Mahomedans, whom he removed from all stations of trust or profit; indeed, he went so far, as to command no person professing that faith to appear at court. While the Pope Nicolas IV. was sending deputations to Arghoun to express his gratitude for the kind treatment of the Christians, "true believers (I translate from a Mahomedan author) trembled lest the sacred temple of Mecca should be converted into a cathedral." But the death of Arghoun put an end to the hopes of the one and the fears of the others; and Saad-u-doulah was murdered almost at the same instant that his sovereign expired.

On the death of Arghoun, his brother, Key Khatou[z],

[x] D'Herbelot.

[y] Saad-u-doulah signifies "the virtuous of the state."

[z] He is termed by some authors Tshagautem, or "the astonishing."

then Governor of Anatolia, was raised to the throne by the majority of the Ameers, and hastened to Tabreez, which had become the capital of the empire; he was apparently welcomed by all, though it was known that many among the most powerful nobles were very averse to his elevation. This prince, we are told[a], was humane and generous; but the same author admits that he was indolent, sensual, and extravagant. His dislike of trouble induced him to confide the reins of government to a minister; his passion for women led him to seize, as his desires prompted, the wives and daughters of his subjects; and his thoughtless expenses wasted the resources of his empire.

The short and inglorious reign of Key Khatou would hardly merit notice, were it not for one measure, which, from its singularity, must preserve him from oblivion. When his unexampled prodigality had exhausted his treasures, and left him so overwhelmed with debt that money could not be raised to defray the expenses of his household, he listened to a plausible scheme that was brought before him, for introducing a paper currency throughout his dominions. The author of this scheme was an officer[b] in the revenue department, of reputed talent. He proposed to introduce in lieu of specie a paper exchange, such as, our author states, was then in use in China[c]: when it became a medium of value in all commercial concerns, it was expected that it would, without injuring individuals, cause the whole gold and silver of the country to flow into the royal treasury; and thereby give new life and vigour to the government.

The vizier of Key Khatou, and the officer who proposed this scheme, are said to have corresponded with the minister[d]

[a] Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.

[b] His name was Ezudden Muzuffer. He subsequently received the appellation of Sherreer, or "wicked," probably given by those whom his scheme had ruined.

[c] This establishment had then subsisted nearly sixty years in China.

[d] According to the author of the Dil-Kusha, they only consulted with the

of the Emperor of China and Tartary, before they communicated the plan to their master, whom they found ready to grasp at any shadow promising relief to his distress[e]. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of the precious metals, as a medium of value in trade or any species of manufacture, further than might be required for the monarch. To provide a circulating medium, it was ordained that stamp or banking-houses should be established in every city and town in Persia, where bank-notes should be made and issued. It was at the same time ordered, that all goldsmiths, embroiderers, and money-changers, who might be deprived of employment by the introduction of this scheme, should be indemnified by an annual stipend paid in the new notes. This strange and crude plan was actually carried into execution. Banking-houses were erected everywhere.

ambassador from China at the Persian court. But we find from the Travels of Marco Polo, that at the very date when this measure must have been in contemplation, that noble Venetian, accompanied by his father and uncle, was at the Court of Persia. They had been residing for many years at the Court of Kublai Khan, the Emperor of Tartary and China; and when that sovereign complied with a request, made through some ambassadors sent by Arghoun Khan, to give a princess of the imperial family in marriage to their master, the Venetians accompanied the train of that lady, who was also attended by some high nobles of Tartary and the ambassadors of Arghoun. The party came by sea from China. They appear to have stopped at Java, and several other places, and were eighteen months on the passage. When they reached Persia, Arghoun Khan was dead, and his place occupied by his brother, Key Khatou; who, Marco Polo states, only governed the kingdom for the son of Arghoun, then under age; and he adds, that Key Khatou directed the Tartar princess whom they had brought for Arghoun, to be given in marriage to Ghazan, the son of the deceased monarch. This mission must have reached the Court of Tabreez in the year 1292, or 1293, as Arghoun did not die till the end of 1291; and the Venetian nobles, after remaining nine months in Persia, and visiting several countries on their journey homeward, reached Venice in 1295. The relation of Marco Polo shows that Key Khatou had at his court not only ambassadors from China, and some of his own ministers who had returned thence, but intelligent Europeans, who, from what they had seen both in their native country and in China, were very likely to be consulted about the scheme of establishing a paper currency.

[e] He is stated to have been considerably more than two millions sterling in debt.

They were called *Tshau Khanah*, or "the House of Stamps or Notes." The tshau [f], or bank note, was an oblong piece of paper, containing a short inscription in Khataeen, or Chinese characters, and exhibiting on each side the Mahomedan confession of faith [g], and the words Eerantchie and Routchee, which seem to have been titles bestowed on the kings of Persia by the great Khan of Tartary [h]. In the middle of the note was a circle, within which the value [i] was written, with an inscription containing the date of issue, and a positive mandate, on pain of condign punishment, for all his majesty's subjects to receive this currency.

We know, from still more unquestionable authority than the Mahomedan authors [k] who record this transaction, that an attempt to establish a paper currency had been made in China, under the immediate successors [l] of Chenghiz Khan;

[f] Probably a Chinese word.

[g] There is no god but God, and Mahomed is his prophet.

[h] Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur and Dil-Kusha.

[i] The notes varied from half a dirhem to ten dirhems; that is, from two-pence three farthings to four shillings and seven-pence.

[k] Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur and Dil-Kusha.

[l] The attempt to give bank-notes currency in Persia took place in A.D. 1294. The following passage from the Travels of Marco Polo, who was at the court of the Emperor of China and Tartary about twenty years before, shows that a paper currency had been established in that empire.

"The money of the Great Khan," Marco Polo observes, "is not made of gold or silver, or other metal; but they take the middle bark from the mulberry-tree, and this they make firm, and cut into divers round pieces, great and little, and imprint the king's mark thereon. Of this paper money, therefore, the emperor causeth an huge mass to be made in the city of Cambalu, which sufficeth for the whole empire; and no man, under pain of death, may coin any other, or spend any other money, or refuse it, in all his kingdoms and countries; nor any, coming from another kingdom, dare spend any other money in the empire of the Great Khan. Hence it follows, that merchants often coming from remote countries unto the city of Cambalu, bring with them gold, silver, pearl, and precious stones, and receive the king's money for them; and because this money is not received in their country, they change it again in the empire of the Great Khan, for merchandise, which they carry away with them. He also payeth stipend to his officers and army in the above-mentioned money. And lastly, whatever

. . . .g... .. ..

.. ...stitute a paper currency
..d and settled states, rest
. .. receive and use it have
.. wealth of the government
.. interference of power to
. a certain degree depreciate
.. that though such a currency
.. facilitate commercial inter-
. .. a rich, powerful, and free
... st and most fallacious of all
... or despotic government can
. .. ..na, where the ruler is con-
. ..ty, where laws are made less
.. support the absolute power" of

. ... with this money. Wherefore, there
. .d who exceedeth him in treasure, not
. . . . "

.. to the Translation of the Institutes of
.. Asiatic Miscellany, describes the his-
. .. ..t attempted to establish in Persia. He
. .. of the establishment of paper currency
. was from thirty to forty years before the
.. ..s, as he only commenced his travels about
. .. Polo, and his uncle, Mathio Polo, how-
. ..e Great Khan of Tartary fifteen or sixteen
. . ..able that Marco may have included the

the sovereign, and where man is, by education and habit, degraded into a state of the most passive submission, a mandate to compel credit might be attended with a temporary effect; but in a kingdom like Persia, where the materials of government have ever been rude and misshapen, where there is always much of natural liberty, of turbulence, and of latent sedition, the very proposition was calculated to ruin the most able monarch. We cannot therefore be surprised that the indolent and irresolute Key Khatou took alarm at the loud clamours of the inhabitants of his capital, and indeed of the whole kingdom; for, we are told, all combined in execrating this scheme and its authors. But though this singular measure was repealed almost as soon as it was adopted [o], the sovereign lost the confidence of all ranks by attempting to enforce it; and, a few months after, the resentment of a personal injury led Baidu Khan, a

under an arbitrary rule, the government of that country may be termed the perfection of despotism. There are laws, it is true; but the emperor can make or abrogate these laws at pleasure. Men have a right to a trial; but the monarch names or removes the judges. Filial piety is the first of duties; but all bend to the emperor, as a divine parent. He is called the Son of Heaven; which implies, that he has no duties but to God. He receives adoration from his subjects, and his orders are deemed sacred. The usages, as well as the laws, are all framed to support the power of the ruler. High officers and nobles, who, in a country where all the gradations of society are so marked, might become dangerous from their official power, are preserved in a state of dependence by continual removals. Their sons are educated at the Imperial College, where the principal lesson taught them is a holy respect for the emperor. In short, all the institutions are studiously designed to remind men of their actual condition, and to make them fear to leave the ranks assigned to them in the community; and this is more effected by the fear of punishment than the hope of reward.

The minds of men born in a free country may revolt at this picture of the calm of despotism; but the mass of the inhabitants in those regions of Asia who are exposed to the continual tempests of a barbarous ambition, recognising no law except the sword, and having no object but conquest, deem the Chinese the happiest of men; and consider the government which keeps them in such complete quiet and subjection, the best that human wisdom has ever invented.

[o] It lasted only three days. The Dil-Kusha states that its author, Muzuffer, was torn to pieces by the mob.

grandson of Hulakoo, to rebel against his authority; the unfortunate monarch was, after a short struggle, made prisoner and put to death, by a confederacy of his own disaffected nobles.

Baidu Khan, who succeeded Key Khatou, enjoyed the crown of Persia only a few months: he was dethroned and slain by his nephew, Ghazan Khan, the son of Arghoun Khan; who, if we are to believe the historians of his reign, was compelled to attack his uncle and sovereign to preserve himself. This prince refused to ascend the throne of his ancestors until he was regularly elected, as the most renowned of his race had been, by the chiefs of the empire. A coroultai, or assembly of the Moghul nobles[p], was called; and the monarch addressed them in a very impressive manner. While he explained his intention of labouring to restore the government to a better condition, and called on them for their aid, he at the same time threatened all who should retard the intended reforms with the severest punishment. Since the death of Hulakoo, the government had been more in the hands of powerful nobles than of the monarch. They had become a body of petty princes, and the state was disturbed with their pretensions and usurpations. The regulations established by Chenghiz were neglected; and that superintending authority and strict police, by which alone despotism can be rendered tolerable, from its protecting those over whom it tyrannises from being injured by others, had no existence in Persia. We learn the extent of the abuses which a succession of two or three weak princes had given rise to, from the most authentic of all sources, the preambles of those laws, or rather regulations, which Ghazan Khan made to correct them. This wise and just prince not only revived and reformed the Institutes of Chenghiz, but framed a new and fuller code of

[p] It is a curious fact, noticed by General Kirkpatrick on the authority of a Persian author, that at a coroultai held for the election of Kaik Khan, on the plains of Kapchack, some of the ameers, or nobles, voted by proxy.—See *New Asiatic Miscellany*.

edicts; the object of which was to reform the administration of justice; to establish good regulations in the collection of the revenue; to distribute lands for the support of the army; to regulate inns or caravansaries; to improve the system of public post-houses for officers and couriers of government, which appear to have been established throughout the empire[q]; the suppression of robbers; and to fix the standard of coins, weights, and measures. These, and a number of other laws, or edicts, which cannot be classed under any general head, were founded on principles that showed as much attention to the moral improvement of his subjects, as to increasing the strength and vigour of his government. The Institutes[r] of Ghazan Khan are not only transcribed at full by some of the best Persian historians, but have been adopted by succeeding monarchs, as eminently calculated to promote the prosperity of a community, constituted like that they were originally framed for.

The principal wars of this monarch were with the sultans of Egypt. His policy led him to seek the aid of the states of Europe; and Pope Boniface the Eighth endeavoured, by a display of his connexion with Ghazan Khan, to excite the Christian princes to another crusade[s]. It was probably this connexion with the head of the Christian church, which led to a general impression among western writers, that Ghazan Khan was not sincere in his conversion to Mahomedanism; and this belief was confirmed by the wars he

[q] The posts still exist in Turkey and several parts of Europe, in the same rude form as they were first established in Persia; but they are no longer to be found in that country, owing probably to the confused state of its government for the last century. The post-houses are miserable hovels, at each of which a number of horses are kept. These are given to any person who has an order for them; and the abuses of such a department must be enormous, when not under very strict regulation.

[r] The whole code of his Institutes has been translated from the Persian, by that able orientalist, the late General William Kirkpatrick.—See *New Asiatic Miscellany*.

[s] History of the Crusades, p. 406.

was continually engaged in with a race of monarchs who were then deemed the defenders of the religion of the Arabian prophet against the Christian world; but Mahomedan writers are too sensible of the glory of having such a convert, to doubt his sincerity [t]. The fact seems, that the celebrated Ameer Nouroze, whose great influence and talents made his aid essential to Ghazan Khan, informed him, that unless he embraced the religion of Mahomed, it would be difficult to place him upon the throne of Persia; and that the Tartar prince acted like Henry the Fourth of France on a nearly similar occasion. His apostasy however from the faith of his fathers was rendered still more remarkable than that of the European monarch, by his example producing the instant conversion [u] of nearly a hundred thousand of his followers, who, with the true spirit of Tartar soldiers, followed their leader into the pale of Islam, and soon became the active supporters of the faith they had so suddenly embraced. In the speech of Ghazan Khan to the ameers at the coroultai, when he was elected, he dwells on the sincerity of his belief: and he was the first of this race who threw off all allegiance to the Khakan of Tartary, by directing that the name of one, whom he was compelled to deem an infidel, should not in future be struck on the coins [x] of Persia. This act of contumacy produced an invasion of Khorassan by an army of Tartars; but they were repelled by Nouroze, who obliged them to recross the Oxus with great loss. The power of this great minister and general appears to have grown with his success, until he at last became an object either of suspicion or dread to the sovereign he had placed upon the throne. His death was

[t] Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.

[u] The great conversion of the monarch and his army took place at Firoze Koh on the 17th of June, 1265.

[x] On the coin which Ghazan Khan struck, the Mahomedan creed, "There is no god but God, and Mahomed is his prophet," was inscribed, in place of the name and titles of the Khakan.

the consequence[y]. Some historians have endeavoured to reconcile us to this ingratitude of Ghazan Khan, by asserting that he through life hated the man who had forced him to become a convert to a religion he inwardly abhorred, and to destroy which, they say, was the chief object of his war with the Sultan of Egypt[z]. As a proof, they adduce his readiness to re-establish the Christians in the Holy Land; but all the promises he made to the Christian potentates were probably dictated more by policy than religion. He was engaged in a war in which he required their aid; and he sought it by the common means of holding out those views which he thought most likely to induce them to join him.

In the contest which this monarch carried on in Syria, he was at first successful; but latterly experienced a complete reverse of fortune. This preyed upon his spirits, and accelerated his death; it took place at a town near Rhe, which he had built and called Sham Ghazan, or "the Syria of Ghazan;" a proof how much his mind dwelt on the conquest of that country.

Ghazan Khan was remarkable for the lowness of his stature, and the extreme ugliness of his face and person[a]; but he was richly endowed with learning[b] and virtue. Yet, to obtain

[y] Mahomedan authors ascribe the murder of Nouroze to a combination of the Moghul ameers, who continued friendly to the Christian religion, or the ancient worship of their own country, and whose hostility to the Mahomedan grew with its success.—*Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.*

[z] De Guignes.

[a] The Christian monk, Haiton, who was long at the court of Ghazan Khan, after describing a battle with the Sultan of Egypt in which the Persian monarch displayed the greatest conduct and courage, adds: "It is astonishing how so many virtues can reside in so diminutive and ugly a person."—De Guignes.

[b] We are informed by De Guignes, who probably follows a western author, that Ghazan Khan made Cyrus his model, and was constantly reading the life of that prince, and of Alexander; but unless he understood Greek, he must have been contented with the fabulous but animating pages of the Persian poets, Ferdosi and Nizamee, for an account of the actions of these heroes.

the crown, he professed the Mahomedan religion; and his life passed in friendship with the Christians, and in wars with the followers of the faith he had adopted. This contradiction of profession and principle must have rendered him unpopular with almost all his subjects; for the Christians could hardly repose confidence in a monarch whom political motives had made an apostate[c]; nor could the Mahomedans be attached to a ruler who so openly countenanced and aided their enemies. Nevertheless Ghazan Khan has the singular fortune of being exalted by eastern authors into an example for monarchs, and of being deplored by western writers as one of the greatest losses the cause of religion ever suffered; but the latter sentiment has probably arisen from his being the last monarch of Persia who was disposed to assist the followers of the Cross in their efforts to recover Palestine.

The throne of Ghazan Khan descended to his brother, who is best known in history by the name of Sultan Mahomed Khodah-bundah[d]. During his reign, his kingdom was only disturbed by one invasion of Khorassan by the Tartars of Chaghtai[e], and by a rebellion in Ghilan. The Tartars were repulsed; but the royal army sent to reduce Ghilan was defeated; and this failure was rendered memorable from Kutluck Shah, who had commanded the armies of Ghazan in Syria, being slain in the action[f]. Sultan Mahomed Khodah-bundah is said to have been a just prince. He was the first monarch of Persia who proclaimed himself of the sect of Aly. He gave a public proof of his attach-

[c] It is not distinctly stated whether he apostatized from the religion of his ancestors, or from Christianity; but, if we credit western writers, we must believe that he was attached through life to the latter faith, though he does not appear ever to have made a public profession of his belief in its doctrines.

[d] "Mahomed the slave of God." This was his title; his Tartar name was Ouljaitou Khan.

[e] A great tribe had taken the name of Chaghtai, of whom the leaders were the descendants of that wise and pious prince.

[f] De Guignes.

ment to this sect, by causing the names of the twelve holy Imaums to be engraven on all the money which he coined; and his memory continues to be cherished in Persia, more probably on account of his faith than of his virtues.

Sultan Khodah-bundah built the celebrated city of Sultaneah[g], which he made the capital of his dominions; and it continued that of his immediate successors. It was ornamented with many fine buildings: the most splendid of which any vestige now remains, is the tomb of its founder.

Mahomed Khodah-bundah was succeeded by his son, Abou Seyd[h], who was only twelve years of age when he was raised to the throne. The kingdom was thrown into confusion by the disputes of the nobles[i], who contended with each other for power during the minority of the young prince: and the Ameer Chouban, who had been intrusted with the management of public affairs during Abou Seyd's minority, had so increased his influence by a marriage with the prince's sister, that his power appeared to be almost on a level with his sovereign's. The first event which shook the authority of this powerful nobleman, was the rebellion of his son, Timour Tash, who was Governor of Syria. He hastened with a large army to reduce him to obedience; and the repentant youth, instead of meeting his father in the field, threw himself at his feet and implored his forgiveness[k]. Chouban carried him a prisoner to Sultaneah, and

[g] This city is now completely deserted: as it was entirely built of brick, there are but few vestiges of its former grandeur. Part of the mausoleum of Khodah-bundah remains; enough to show that it has been a beautiful building. The diameter is more than a hundred feet, and the elevation of the grand dome about a hundred and twenty. The tomb is in the centre; and some of the marble of which it was constructed is still preserved; but the whole is dilapidated; and the present king, Futteh Aly Shah, has taken some of the materials to build a small summer-house, where he resides when his army is encamped (as it usually is a few weeks every season) in the fine plains of Sultaneah.

[h] He is often called by his title of Behauder Khan.

[i] The principal of these were the Ameer Chouban, chief of the tribe of Seldouz, and Ameer Hussein Kourkhan.

[k] De Guignes.

left his fate to be decided by Abou Seyd, who was so much pleased with the loyalty of his minister, that he not only pardoned Timour Tash, but restored him to his government.

Chouban, some time after, formed a plan for increasing the power of his family, by marrying his daughter, Bagdad Khatoon[l], to the Ameer Hussein, one of the principal chiefs of the Moghuls[m]. This lady, who was eminent for her beauty, had been seen by Abou Seyd; and the young prince had become enamoured of her charms[n]. He endeavoured to avail himself of a law, or rather usage, among the Moghuls, by which a person is obliged to divorce his wife, if the monarch desires to marry her. Abou Seyd demanded Bagdad Khatoon for his queen; but neither the father nor husband were disposed to comply: and they were too strong to be coerced. Chouban, in the hope that absence would destroy a passion which threatened his family with disgrace and ruin, prevailed on the king to go to Bagdad; and sent his son-in-law, with his bride, in an opposite direction[o]. But the love of Abou Seyd increased; and his disappointment made him so hostile to Chouban, that he at last forced that chief into a rebellion, which, after some success, terminated in his death[p]. The Ameer Hussein saw no safety but in resigning his consort to the prince; to whom this lady, soon after her father's death, was publicly married: and her influence over him became so great, that she was able, in a great degree, to restore the fortunes of her family.

Abou Seyd, who appears, though a weak and indolent monarch, to have been a brave soldier, had hastened to

[l] The Lady of Bagdad.

[m] D'Herbelot.

[n] Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.

[o] The Ameer Hussein went to Karabagh, a district on the left bank of the Arras, or Araxes.

[p] He was taken and slain by a chief in Khorassan, on whose protection he had thrown himself.

Shirwan to meet an army advancing from Kapchack to invade his territories; but he was taken ill and died of a fever caught in that unhealthy province. His body was carried to Sultaneah, and interred in the same sepulchre with that of his father. This monarch may be termed the last of the dynasty of Hulakoo who enjoyed any power. The few princes of that family who were raised to the throne after Abou Seyd, were mere pageants[q], whom the nobles of the court elevated or cast down as it suited the purposes of their ambition. Among the chiefs who rose to eminence, during this period of trouble and confusion, the principal were the sons of Chouban; Hussein Koochuck[r] and Ashraff. The former was slain by his own wife, to revenge the imprisonment of her lover: and the latter lost his life and power in an action at Koee, in Aderbijan, with Jauni-Beg-Khan, the ruler of Kapchack, who had invaded Persia with a large army.

The cruelty and oppression with which the sons of Chouban, after the death of Abou Seyd, treated his family, compelled several of his descendants to seek safety in flight. Hussein Buzoorg, an immediate descendant of Arghoun,

[q] The following princes of the family of Chenghiz were raised to nominal power after the death of Abou Seyd Behauder:—

Muezudeen Arpa Khan was crowned in A.D. 1335; reigned five months, and died in A.D. 1336.

Moosa Khan was elevated in A.D. 1336; reigned two months, and was dethroned.

Mahomed Khan was elevated in 1336; reigned nearly two years, and was murdered in A.D. 1338.

Saukey, the sister of Abou Seyd, was elevated to the throne in A.D. 1338, by Shaikh Hussein Choubanee, by whom she was given in marriage, with a nominal kingdom as her dowry, to Jehan Timour in A.D. 1339. Jehan Timour was deposed the same year, and Soliman Khan was declared king: he left the kingdom and went to Diarbekir in 1344.

Nousheerwan was elevated in A.D. 1344.

These nominal kings are not noticed by several historians, when recording the contests of those turbulent Ameers, in whose hands they were pageants.

[r] Some authors term these ambitious nobles princes, and speak of the dynasty of Chouban.

went, a few years after the death of Abou Seyd, to Bagdad; seized that city, and became the founder of a petty dynasty of princes. His life passed in contests to establish his authority over the territories of Bagdad, and he died before this object was accomplished. But his son, Aweis, was more fortunate: he not only completed the conquest his father had commenced, but carried his arms into Aderbijan and Khorassan. Aweis left his government to his second son, Hussein[s], who assumed the title of Jellal-u-deen, or "the glory of the faith." This excellent prince, alike celebrated for his benevolence and love of justice, lost his life in an action with his brother Ahmed, a cruel and unjust ruler, whose enormities compelled his subjects to invite the Ameer Timour to their relief: and almost the whole subsequent life of Ahmed passed in an ineffectual struggle with that conqueror[t].

From the period at which the fortunes of the family of Hulakoo began to decline, until the conquest of Persia by the Ameer Timour, Fars was governed by a dynasty of petty rulers, who took the name of Muzuffer, from their founder, Mubariz-u-deen Mahomed, Ul-Muzuffer, or "the victorious." Their capital was Shiraz, which is said to have attained its greatest prosperity under them. Their history, which presents the usual detail of murders and petty wars, merits little attention. Hafiz, the Anacreon of Persia, was at Shiraz when it was taken from Shah-Munsoor, the fifth of this race of princes[u], by the Ameer

[s] The eldest son of Aweis, Hussun, was seized by the nobles and put to death the moment his father expired, that the evils of a disputed succession might be avoided.

[t] Ahmed, after the death of Timour, left Egypt, where he had fled for safety, and made a weak effort to recover his dominions; but he was taken and put to death by Kara-Yusoof, a Turkoman chief, who was the son of the founder of a petty dynasty of rulers, termed Turkoman Kara-Koinloo, or "the Turkomans of the black sheep," from their carrying a figure of that animal in their banners.

[u] This dynasty governed Fars seventy-seven years; during which seven princes enjoyed power. The first was Mubariz-u-deen-Mahomed-Muzuffer;

Timour[1], and was honoured by the marked favour of that great conqueror.

The power of the descendants of Hulakoo over Fars terminated with Mahomed Khodah-bundah. From the day when Abou Seyd was raised to the throne, the disputes among the nobles produced a general weakness and distraction, that pervaded the whole empire, almost every province of which was seized by some powerful chief. A kingdom in such a state could offer little opposition to a formidable invasion of Tartars, commanded by the most warlike monarch that even that region of heroes ever produced; and we cannot therefore be surprised, that it proved an easy conquest to the great Timour.

the second, his son, Shah Shujah; the third, Shah Mahmood, son of Ul-Muzuffer; the fourth, Sultan Ahmed, son of Ul-Muzuffer; the fifth, Shah Munsoor, son of Muzuffer; the sixth, Shah Jakai, son of Muzuffer; and the seventh was Shah Zein-ul-Abdeen, the son of Shah Shujah. The last two reigned only a few months.

[1] We are told, that when Timour was at Shiraz, he sent for the celebrated Hafiz, then an inhabitant of that city. The Tartar conqueror, with apparent, if not real, displeasure, demanded how the poet came to dispose of his two finest cities, Samarcund and Bokharah, which, in a beautiful stanza, he had said he would give for the mole on the cheeks of his mistress. "Can the gifts of Hafiz ever impoverish Timour?" was the reply; which changed the displeasure of the monarch into admiration, and produced reward instead of punishment.

CHAPTER XI.

TIMOUR, OR TAMERLANE. HIS CONQUEST OF PERSIA; AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

THE Ameer Timour is best known in Europe by the name of Tamerlane, which is a corruption of Timour-lung, or "Timour the Lame," a name given to him on account of a personal defect. This great prince, we are informed by the writer of his history, was born in Subz, a suburb of the city of Kesch[y]. His father was the chief of a tribe[z] who professed allegiance to the Khans of Tartary. One of Timour's ancestors had been vizier to Chaghtai, the son of Chenghiz; and flattering historians have traced his descent to the same source as that of the Moghul monarch. The common ancestor of both, they affirm, was the celebrated Buzunjur[a], who has been already mentioned.

The anarchy and confusion into which Transoxania was thrown by the extinction of the immediate descendants of Chaghtai, and the ambition of the chiefs who sought to divide their large dominions, were most favorable to the rise of Timour. The advance of Toghluk Timour Khan,

[y] Kesch was the capital of a district of the same name. After Timour ascended the throne, it became his favorite summer residence, and was called Shaher-e-Subz, or "the verdant city;" the name by which it is now known. It is about a hundred and thirty miles to the east of Bokharah, and about thirty to the south-east of Samarcund.

[z] The name of this tribe, or perhaps of the branch to which Timour belonged, was Borlaus.

[a] The following pedigree is given by Mirkhond. The Ameer Timour was the son of Torgai Nevian, or noble, son of Barkal Nevian, son of Ameer Hinkar Nevian, son of Abghau Nevian, son of Karegar, son of Karagan, son of Eerdimgy Nevian, son of Kagioulai Nevian, son of Tomnai Khan, son of Baisangour Khan, son of Kaidau Khan, son of Doutomnan, son of Bouka Khan, son of Buzunjur. Here his genealogy joins that of Chenghiz, which, with those who do not believe in his descent from the sun, mounts up to Turke, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah.

Chief of Budukshun and Kashgar, who claimed Transoxania as his inheritance, from being related to the family of Chenghiz, gave the first opening for the young chief to display his character. His uncle, Hajee Borlaus, who was the head of the tribe and governed Kesch, was so much alarmed at the approach of Toghluk's army, that he fled to Khorassan [b]. Timour resolved to throw himself on the clemency [c] of the Khan of Kashgar, with a view, as he states himself, of arresting that ruin with which his country was threatened [d]; but more probably in the hope of making a powerful friend by early submission. Whatever was his object, the measure led to the advancement of his fame and fortune [e]. He gained

[b] This chief returned to his native country, but on a second invasion fled again, and was put to death in Khorassan.

[c] Timour informs us, that he asked counsel of his peer or holy father on this occasion, and received the following answer: " 'It was once demanded,' this peer wrote to him, 'of the fourth Khulleefeh, if the canopy of heaven were a bow, and if the earth were the cord thereof, and if calamities were the arrows, if mankind were the mark for those arrows, and if Almighty God (the tremendous and the glorious) were the unerring archer, to whom could the sons of Adam flee for protection?' The Khulleefeh answered, saying, 'The sons of Adam must flee unto the Lord!' Thus, it is thy duty at this time to flee unto Toghluk Timour, and to take from his hand the bow and the arrows of wrath.' When I received this answer," Timour adds, "I became strong of heart, and I went, and I saw Toghluk Timour Khan."—TIMOUR'S *Institutes*, p. 17.

[d] Timour's Institutes, p. 19.

[e] We learn this from the Institutes or Memoirs of Timour. A Persian version of this work has been translated into English by Major Davey, an able orientalist, and published, after his death, by Doctor White, professor of the eastern languages at Oxford. The late General Kirkpatrick observes, that the first translation of this work from the Turkish into Persian was made by command of the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan (See the *New Asiatic Miscellany*); and that the Dil-Kusha states the copies of the MS. to have been so rare, that the one kept in the family of Timour was handed down from father to son, as a valuable legacy. This very volume, he adds, fell into the hands of the Emperor of Constantinople, who suffered many copies to be made from it. The circumstance of this work being translated into Persian in India, accounts for its hardly being known in Persia. The vanity of that nation would reject a work in their own language that contained all the wisdom of Solomon, coming from such a quarter. A very sensible Persian, of the name of Zein-ul-abdeen, assured me he had seen a

the confidence of Toghluk, by whom he was appointed to the government of his native province[f]; while that chief marched back to his own dominions to attack some of his rebellious subjects[g]. Toghluk however soon returned; and having subdued all the territories between the Jaxartes and the Oxus, nominated his son, Ouleaus Khajah, to the charge of maintaining this possession. Timour was appointed first counsellor and general to Ouleaus: but he soon threw off his allegiance; and for several years after, his history presents a scene of constant and extraordinary vicissitudes. In these years of his early life, he received the lessons which enabled him to conquer half the world. But it would fill a volume to describe the difficulties and dangers which he encountered and overcame. He seemed born to stem the torrent of adversity; and evinced in his youth the same wisdom and courage that distinguished his manhood. During a great part of this period, he led a wandering and perilous life in his native country. He was seldom accompanied by more than a hundred followers, and was often without one; but he was still the chief of a tribe; and thus had always more secret than avowed friends; while his enemies, unless very powerful, must have feared to betray or put to death a leader, whose blood would have been revenged upon their children[h].

copy of the Institutes of Timour in the original Turkish, in the library of a Persian chief at Herat.

[f] I follow the historian of Timour. According to his Institutes, he was at this time appointed to the general government of Maverul-Naher, or Transoxania.

[g] Timour assumes the merit of having by presents and intrigues fomented these divisions among the enemies of his country.

[h] The right of relations and of persons of the same class or tribe, to take life for life, may be deemed one of the first principles of natural justice; and this usage appears to be essential in all states where there is no established law. It is, in fact, one of the strongest guards by which families or communities can defend each other. A man is disgraced in such a society, who allows the blood of his father or brother to pass unrevenged; but a chief of a tribe is deemed still more dear to his followers than any relation of blood, and every man of the tribe is pledged to revenge him, even on the third and fourth generation of those who slew him.

Amid all his troubles, he appears never to have despaired of ultimate success; and his adherents, when his fortune was at the lowest ebb, though few, were of no mean description. He informs us that they were all brave men, and of high birth; and "that he felt grateful to God when he saw those, who had a right to be his equals, consent to become his servants[1]." After the death of Toghluk Khan, when his son, Ouleaus, was forced to proceed to Kashgar, the prospects of Timour began to improve. Many of the friends of his family joined him; and he has given us, in the following account of one of these meetings, an animated picture of those patriarchal ties by which a Tartar tribe is united. "I had not yet rested from my devotions," he observes, "when a number of people appeared afar off; and they were passing along in a line with the hill. I mounted my horse, and came behind them, that I might know their condition, and what men they were. They were, in all, seventy horsemen; and I asked of them saying, 'Warriors, who are ye?' and they answered unto me, 'We are the servants of Ameer Timour, and we wander in search of him; but, lo! we find him not.' And I said unto them, 'I also am one of the servants of the Ameer. How say ye, if I be your guide, and conduct you unto him?' And one of them put his horse to speed, and went and carried news to the leaders, saying, 'We have found a guide, who can lead us to Ameer Timour.' The leaders drew back the reins of their horses, and gave orders that I should appear before them. They were three troops; and the leader of the first troop was Toghluk Khajah Borlaus; and the leader of the second troop was Ameer Seif-u-deen; and the leader of the third troop was Toubuk Behauder. When their eyes fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy: and they alighted from their horses, and they came, and they kneeled, and they kissed my stirrup. I also alighted from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban

[1] Timour's Institutes.

on the head of Toghluk Khajah; and my girdle, which was very rich in jewels, and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of Ameer Seif-u-deen; and I clothed Toubuk Behauder with my cloak. And they wept, and I wept also. When the hour of prayer was arrived, we prayed together. And we mounted our horses, and came and alighted at my dwelling: and I collected my people together and made a feast[k]."

Timour had connected himself in a league of the closest friendship with Ameer Hussein, one of the most powerful nobles of Transoxania. The object of both was to expel the enemies of their country; and when Ouleaus was obliged to proceed to Kashgar, they attacked him on his retreat, and defeated him. He soon returned, however, and gained a great victory over these chiefs, who were forced to save themselves by flight; but the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Samarcund, and a great mortality among the horses of his army, obliged Ouleaus to retire; and his departure left the countries between the Jaxartes and the Oxus free from their foreign oppressors.

The absence of Ouleaus led to a contest for power between Hussein and Timour; their friendship had been nourished by misfortune, and cemented by the marriage of the former's sister to the latter: but their characters were so opposite, that its duration was impossible. Hussein was violent and avaricious, and desired to repair his losses by extortion and oppression; while those who were reduced to want by his rapacity, found Timour always ready to give them every relief in his power; and we are informed, that the jewels of his favorite wife[l], the sister of Hussein, which had been given by Timour to relieve the distress of some of the principal inhabitants, were taken by his sordid brother-in-law in payment of fines that he had imposed on them[m]. Occurrences of this nature, aggravated by a dissimilarity of

[k] Timour's Institutes, p. 53.
[l] Her name was Ouruljun Khatoon.
[m] Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen.

temper, could not fail of causing dissensions. Timour was accused of plotting against the state. He answered the charge, and acquitted himself with honour: but the insult was not to be forgotten; and the death of Hussein's sister about this period, seemed to dissolve the only tie by which they were bound. Soon after, Timour, on the plea of self-defence, placed himself at the head of a considerable army. He was at first unsuccessful; but his fortunes, when at the lowest, were restored by an enterprise which the history of the world can hardly parallel, and which marked, beyond all other events of his life, that union of art, courage, and wisdom which formed the character of this extraordinary man.

Hussein, among other advantages, had taken the fort of Kurshee; and Timour informs[n] us, that he deemed his honour pledged to regain this important post: but it was impossible to do so by open hostility; for he had only a very small force, it was defended by a strong garrison, and twelve thousand men were encamped in its vicinity. Timour resolved to have recourse to stratagem. Having proceeded to the Oxus, he concealed himself near its banks, and caused a report to be spread that he had fled to Khorassan. This report was credited; the troops of Hussein became negligent, and thought of nothing but the joys of triumph. When satisfied, to use his own words[o], "that his enemies had spread the carpet of riot and dissipation," he selected two hundred and forty-three of his bravest followers; and having crossed the Oxus, advanced to the village of Sheerkund, where he remained for twenty-four hours. Thence he made a rapid march on Kurshee; and when within three miles of it, he ordered his soldiers to employ themselves in making ladders, while he went forward to reconnoitre with a party of forty men. It was night: when he observed "the dark shade of the castle, he commanded his warriors

[n] Timour's Institutes, p. 93.
[o] Timour's Institutes.

to halt[p];" and proceeding with two favorite soldiers, Mubasher and Abdullah[q], to the brink of the ditch, which was full, he passed over it by the help of a hollow tree, laid across it to convey water into the fort. Mubasher had been left with the horses; Abdullah accompanied Timour, who went first to the gateway and tried to open it, but could not. He next went round the walls, and having marked a place which, from its lowness, seemed easy of ascent, he returned by the same route, and brought his whole party to the spot where he had alighted. Forty-three men were left with the horses. A hundred conducted by Abdullah went with the ladders which had been prepared, across the hollow tree, to the spot examined by their daring leader, where they scaled the wall; then proceeding to the gateway, they put the guards to death as they lay asleep, and opened the gate to Timour, who had advanced to their aid with another hundred men. The moment the whole were in the city, they rushed to attack the castle, sounding their trumpets and shouting, to terrify the garrison and induce them to believe that the body they were attacked by was numerous. They completely succeeded; every post was deserted; and Timour allowed many to escape, in the hope that the alarm might be communicated to the camp, and that he might be relieved by their flight from the great force which encompassed him. But the generals of Ameer Hussein discovered at daylight the smallness of that body by which Kurshee had been surprised, and resolved to make every effort to repair their disgrace. The numbers were so disproportioned, it appeared impossible for the party who had taken the fort to maintain the conquest they had so gloriously made. But they were all heroes, and they were commanded by Timour. Every attack was repulsed; continual sallies were made; and the

[p] Timour's Institutes, p. 97.

[q] Timour terms these two soldiers Khanah-zad, or "house-born," the name usually given to the sons of slaves born in the family: such persons among the Mahomedans are almost deemed relations.



troops of Hussein, who soon found that success was doubtful, became divided and discontented. One leader separated his division; the whole soon commenced a retreat, which they were not able to effect without losing a considerable part of their baggage. Timour dwells with just pride on this early event of his life, and declares it was on this occasion he first discovered "the incalculable advantage which wisdom has over force, and with what small means the greatest designs may be accomplished[r]."

This extraordinary success raised the reputation of Timour, and forced his rival to have recourse to every effort that art or violence could suggest, but in vain; and after a long struggle, mutual convenience, and a sense of the danger to which their discord exposed their country, led them to make peace. We are informed, that Timour gained several victories over his adversary before this reconciliation. At the moment one of these actions was commencing, he addressed his followers in a speech worthy of the hero of Tartary. "This day, brave soldiers! is a day of dancing for warriors! The hall of the dance for heroes is the field of battle! The shouts of war and the sound of trumpets are their songs and music! and the wine they drink, is the blood of their enemies!"

The peace between Timour and Hussein was not sincere, and could not be permanent. Another rupture soon occurred, which terminated in the death of the latter. When reduced to capitulate in Bulkh, he asked only to be permitted to end his days in retirement. This was granted; but even the partial historian[s] of Timour throws but a thin veil over the murder of his rival. Ameer Hussein, he pretends, was slain by a Tartar lord, whose brother he had put to death; and who, with other nobles, saw the necessity of such a proceeding, to save the state from the dangers it would be exposed to by the unwise clemency of their leader;

[r] Timour's Institutes.
[s] Sherrif-u-deen.

had settled in Asia Minor:, their being addicted to the vile practices of robbery and murder, was the excellent pretext for the leader of a Moghul army to attack this savage nation, whose chief, Kara Yusoof, was obliged to save himself by flight, while the city of Van, his capital, was taken and pillaged. He next marched against Zein-ul-abdeen, a prince of the race of Muzuffer, who governed Fars, and had extended his authority over Isfahan and a great part of Irak. Shah Shujah, his father, had courted the friendship of Timour, and at his death had recommended his son to his protection; but that youth, instead of obeying the summons of the conqueror to attend at his court, had confined the envoy who carried the command. This conduct was probably pleasing to the Moghul monarch, as it gave the colour of justice to his invasion of Irak and Fars[x]. He marched to Isfahan[y], which surrendered the moment he encamped before it. Satisfied with this ready submission, he commanded that the town should be spared, but that a heavy contribution should be levied upon its inhabitants. This had been almost collected, when an accident involved the city in ruin. A young blacksmith happened one night to beat a small drum for his amusement: a number of the citizens, mistaking it for an alarm, assembled, and became so irritated from talking to each other of the distress they suffered, that they commenced an attack upon those whom they considered the cause of their misery; and before morning, nearly three thousand of the Tartars who had been quartered in the city were slain. The gates were shut to prevent immediate assault; but defence was impossible; and the rage of Timour, on hearing of the fate of his soldiers, exceeded all bounds. He would listen to no terms of capitulation; and the warmth of indignation was increased by the cold dictates of policy. He was commencing his career of conquest; and Isfahan was doomed to be an ex-

[x] Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen.

[y] The governor of Isfahan was an uncle of Zein-ul-abdeen, the ruler of Fars.

…e unfortunate
…ed made all the
…s were carried
…t merely permit
… every soldier to
… Some of these,
…the number fixed,
…it was found impos-
…ccount was taken of
…eaped in pyramids,
… After this horrid
…raz, which, with the
…rity[b]. The chiefs of
…ed to pay their duty
… time to establish his
…subdued, before he was
…a, its tranquillity having
…Tochtamush Khan, ruler

…'s life were employed in
…ns, and in extending their
… Tartary. One body of his
… of China, while another
… the Irtish, and a third

…a, he advanced by the route

…mention of this massacre in his
…an, and I trusted in the people of
… their hands. And they rebelled;
…over them, they slew, with three
…ommanded that a general slaughter
…"—Timour's *Institutes*, p. 119.
…and flatterer of Timour, cannot con-
…at while he passes lightly over the
…he relates with minuteness the care
…ation the premises of a dead doctor
…, p. 292.
… [illegible] …resistance, fled to save his life.

of Mazenderan, all the chiefs of which hastened to acknowledge his power. Amid the general ruin which he spread, he had the merit of extirpating a band of assassins, with which the north-western provinces of Persia were infested; and from the name which they had assumed, of Fedavee, or "the devoted," we cannot doubt that they were a branch of the sect of Ismailee, whose history has been already given [c].

In the beginning of the next year, Timour advanced toward Bagdad. One division of his army proceeded through Aderbijan and Kurdistan, while that under his own orders moved by Irak to the cities of Khorumabad [d] and Shuster [e]. He next attacked the famous Killah Suffeed, a mountain-fort, which has been before described [f]. It had been taken by Roostum; and the fame of its strength was not diminished by its falling before a chief who has been justly deemed equally irresistible. After this success, he advanced to Shiraz with thirty thousand men; and his astonishment was excessive, at seeing his army attacked, when he came near that city, by the brave Munsoor [g]; who, at the head of between three and four thousand select horse [h], twice charged the centre of Timour's army, and routed all who opposed him. We are told that Timour himself had nearly fallen beneath the sword of Munsoor, and was only saved by his helmet. But the gallant prince was not supported. The two wings of his army, which he had ordered to ad-

[c] Vide p. 240.

[d] Khorumabad is about eighty miles from Kermanshah. It is the residence of the chief of the tribe of Fylee. It stands at the foot of a mountain, and is protected by a rude fort on a small conical hill in the centre of the town. It lies in 33° 32′ north latitude, and in 47° 43′ east longitude.—*Captain* FREDERICK's *Journal*.

[e] This ancient city is frequently, but erroneously, called Tostar, in the History of the Tartar Princes.

[f] Vide page 19.

[g] Shah Munsoor, who had succeeded his father, Zein-ul-abdeen, in the government of Fars, had, during Timour's absence in Tartary, reconquered the greatest part of the possessions of his family.

[h] Every man of this party was clad in complete armour.

vance when he led the centre to the charge[1], fled, and he was surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers. He fell, and his head was struck off by Shah Rokh Meerza, the son of Timour, who hastened to carry it to his father. The Persians fled when they saw Munsoor fall; and the Tartars were on the point of pursuit, conceiving the victory was complete, when another army drawn up in perfect order appeared in their front. But this corps was soon routed,

[1] Sherrif-u-deen, who was in the action, thus describes this charge:—

"Shah Munsoor advanced at their head like a furious lion, and in opposition to his reason, which should have preserved in his mind a suitable idea of the person he had to do with, as one whose arm had cast down all his enemies: on a Friday, at the hour of prayer, he attacked our main body, composed of thirty thousand Turks, the most dexterous men of their time, in a place named Patila; he overthrew their squadrons, broke their ranks, made his way into the midst of them, and gained behind our army posts of the utmost consequence; then he returned, furious as a dragon, to the fight, seeming resolved to lose his life. Timour stopped short with some of his favorites, to consider the extreme vigour, or rather rashness, of this prince, who had dared to attack him in person. Timour, seeing him come directly against him, would have armed himself with his lance to oppose him; but he could not find it, because Poulad Tchoura, the keeper of it, had been so briskly attacked, that he fled, and carried away the lance. Timour, who had only fourteen or fifteen persons with him, did not stir out of his place till Shah Munsoor came up to him. This rash person struck the emperor's helmet twice with his scimetar; but the blows did no harm, for they glanced along his arms: he kept firm as a rock, and did not change his posture. Adel Actachi held a buckler over Timour's head, and Comari Yesaoul advanced before him: he did several great actions, and was wounded in his hand with a sword."

Shah Munsoor, repulsed in the attack upon the person of Timour, fell on the Tartar infantry; but his two wings fled. He was surrounded, and Sherrif-u-deen adds: "At length the Meerza Shah Rokh, though but seventeen years old, behaved himself with so much valour and conduct that he hemmed in Shah Munsoor, cut off his head, and cast it at the feet of the emperor, his father, congratulating him on the victory. 'May the heads,' said he, 'of all your enemies be thus laid at your feet, as that of the proud Munsoor is!' This lucky accident discouraged the Persian soldiers, who till that time fought well. These leopards were turned into deers, for those who were not killed fled. Timour, pleased at this great victory, embraced the princes his sons, and the Nevians, and fell on his knees with them to return thanks to God for the victory."—PETIT DE LA CROIX'S *Translation of Sherrif-u-deen*, vol. i. p. 417, 418.

and the conqueror took possession of Shiraz. All the princes of the race of Muzuffer submitted, and were put to death. The officers of the conqueror's army were appointed to the charge of the different provinces and cities which had been subdued; and on their commissions, instead of a seal, an impression of a red hand was stamped[k]; a Tartar usage, marking the manner in which the territories had been taken, as well as that in which it was intended to govern them.

Timour next marched against Bagdad, then ruled by Sultan Ahmed Eel-Khannee[l], a bad and cruel prince, whose subjects were ill-disposed to defend him: he fled, and his capital and territories submitted. Immediately after reducing Bagdad, Timour marched to attack Tukreet[m], a fortress not more remarkable for its ancient celebrity, than for the resistance which it now offered. It stands upon a rock near the Tigris, between Bagdad and Moossul. According to some authors, it was built by Alexander the Great; while others ascribe its foundation to the Sassanien monarchs. When Timour attacked it, it was held by a notorious chief, or rather robber, named Hussun, whose depredations made him an object of universal terror. He expected no mercy, and defended his fort with a valour and despair, which nothing but the courage and numbers of the Tartars could have overcome. Sherrif-u-deen, who details the events of this siege, gives a description, perhaps imperfect, but still curious, as affording us a general idea of the mode in which the Tartars attacked fortified places.

Timour first drew up his army, and directed the drums to beat, and the war-shout to be given; they next surrounded the fort, and proceeding by sap, began to undermine the outworks, while battering rams and machines that threw large stones, were fixed near the walls, to destroy the dwellings of the besieged. The emperor had ordered his tents to be pitched close to the lines of attack, that he

[k] De Guignes.

[l] He took this title from being of the race of Hulakoo.

[m] It is believed to be the Birtha of the ancients.

might better encourage his soldiers, whom he commanded to carry the place at any loss. The walls appeared impregnable: they were either formed of immense and lofty rocks, or of masonry betwixt them, that in height, depth, and solidity, seemed equal to the vast masses of stone. The Tartars soon worked their way under cover to the foot of the walls; and one of their leaders made a fortunate attack upon a tower, the possession of which forced the garrison to abandon all their outworks, and to retreat to the body of the fortress: a general attack was immediately ordered; the engineers marked by "red furrows" the space allotted for each division, and gave its commander written orders how to proceed in undermining the fortifications. The regiments of the left wing, which were the most distinguished, had their share of attack first allotted. These regiments composed the tomaun[n] or division of Kepeck Khan, and were commanded by Arslan. They worked in files, and were followed by the tomaun of the prince, Shah Rokh[o], which laboured with such effect, that in a very short time they had pierced the rock thirty-five cubits. All the other regiments were employed in a similar manner; and we may judge of the extent and strength of the fortifications of Tukreet, when seventy-two thousand men of Timour's army were incessantly employed for many days in undermining them. When this labour was far advanced, a parley took place: but it broke off; and the siege was carried on with increased vigour. Timour ordered his troops to enter the places that had been undermined, and to fill these immense cavities with combustibles[p]. On the night of

[n] Ten thousand men.

[o] The fourth son of Timour, and the only one who survived him, except Meeran Shah, who was insane.

[p] The combustibles used were dry wood and pitch. This mode of undermining the walls of a city, and subverting them by subterraneous fire, was practised by the Romans, as appears from the twenty-fourth chapter of the fourth book of Vegetius, in which he treats of mines.

"When it is resolved," he says, "to attack a place by mine, the besiegers employ a number of men to excavate the earth, with great labour,

the twentieth of Mohurrum, (sixteen days after the siege commenced,) they set fire to the whole. It burst forth in a vast volume of smoke. The props by which the mines were supported gave way. The rocks and walls were rent; they fell with one great crash, and brought with them many of the enemies' strongest towers. The Tartars rushed through the ruins to the storm, and advanced to the very centre of the place; but they were every where bravely opposed. The besiegers fought for glory; the besieged for life. The assailants appear to have met with a momentary check; and orders were given by Timour to undermine those parts of the walls which were yet left. The bastion, where the tomauns of Allahdad and Amancha were labouring, was destroyed to the very foundation, and Hussun was obliged to retreat with his remaining followers to a strong citadel. The brave Ameers begged on their knees that Timour would allow them to storm that last defence, and at once finish the glorious work: but the monarch would not consent; he commanded that it should be undermined. The garrison now desired to capitulate, on condition that their lives should be spared. Timour fiercely refused: "Let them deliver themselves up or not," said he, "as

in the same manner that the Bessi dig for veins of gold and silver. Thus, by sinking a cavern, an infernal or subterraneous road is opened for the destruction of the city; and the dark insidious plan may be carried into effect in two ways. Sometimes a party of the besiegers, issuing out of their mine by night into the heart of the city, without being observed by the inhabitants, burst open the gates, introduce their fellow-soldiers from without, and slaughter the unguarded citizens in their houses. Sometimes, on reaching the foundations of the place, they undermine the greatest part of them, removing the earth from below, and then place temporary props of dry timber to support the walls, and fill the space with a great quantity of fire-wood and other combustibles. This being done, the warriors are drawn up in readiness for the attack. The wood under the foundation is kindled. As soon as the props and planks are consumed, the walls fall down, and the place lies open to assault."

We learn from Herodotus, that the art of mining was understood by the ancient Persians in the reign of Darius; and Folard, in his translation of Polybius, conjectures that the Greeks borrowed their knowledge of it from the eastern nations.

they choose: I know that, by the aid of God, I shall seize their chief, and raze to its foundation this den of thieves." His soldiers were so animated by the words and actions of their leader, that they surpassed all their former efforts; and on the twenty-fifth of Mohurrum, (five days from the storming of the first wall,) they completed the conquest of the last tower on the summit of the rock. Hussun, and all the garrison that survived, were brought to Timour; separating (according to his partial historian[q]) the inoffensive inhabitants from the soldiers, he pardoned the former, but divided[r] the latter among the different tomauns of his army, who had orders to put them to death by torture. The engineers formed pyramids of their heads; and on each was inscribed, "Such is the punishment for robbers!" Timour directed that a part of the fortifications should be left entire, that future ages might wonder at the prowess of those who had taken such a fort by assault[s].

The Tartar armies, after this arduous conquest, were dispersed over Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Georgia; all of which countries were subdued. Tochtamush Khan, the ruler of Kapchack, had ventured to make an inroad into Shirwan; but he was attacked[t] in his own country, defeated, and deprived of his crown. After traversing Kapchack, Timour entered Russia, and marched as far as Moscow[u], which he took and plundered. Next year he destroyed Astracan, and pillaged Georgia and Circassia,

[q] Sherrif-u-deen.

[r] This was, no doubt, to give to each corps an opportunity of revenging the blood of the men they had lost during the siege.

[s] Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen, pp. 444, &c.

[t] We are informed by one author, that Timour's troops in this war were so dispirited for want of provisions, and so inferior in numbers, that their defeat seemed certain; but that artful chief bribed the standard-bearer of Tochtamush Khan to betray his master. The standard was inverted during the action, and the troops fled, thinking their leader was slain.

[u] In this invasion of Russia, Sherrif-u-deen Aly says, the Tartars obtained a great number of women and girls of all ages, and of extraordinary shape and beauty. The ruler of Russia is termed Ooroose Khan; but this merely signifies "the lord of Russia."

making himself master of almost all the strong holds on these mountainous and difficult countries. He then returned to Tartary, and made preparations for one of the most splendid, if not the most arduous of his enterprises, the invasion of India. Many of his ameers opposed this resolution, on the ground that their children would become effeminate and worthless in so warm a climate; but Timour tells us that he consulted the Koran on this occasion, as on most others, and the verse to which fate directed him was as follows: "O prophet! fight with the infidels and the unbelievers[x]." Even the dissatisfied ameers, he adds, were reconciled by this happy omen.

A particular account of this expedition[y] would be a mere detail of dreadful massacres. His generals, before he moved, had overrun the country of the Affghans and the greatest part of Mooltan. Timour subdued as far as Delhi, and after a short siege took it. The cruel spirit in which these conquests were made, may be judged of by one fact. The Tartar army had taken upwards of a hundred thousand Indians prisoners before they reached Delhi: when the siege was resolved upon, their leader judged that the operation

[x] Timour informs us, that the army with which he invaded India consisted of ninety-two thousand horsemen; and the affinity of this number to the names given to the Prophet Mahomed, was deemed a happy omen of success.—TIMOUR's *Institutes*, p. 135.

[y] In the spring of the year in which he invaded India, Timour made an irruption into the country of the *Sia Posh*, or "men with black garments;" a singular tribe, who, living in a strong country amid the mountains of Budukshan, had long maintained their independence. Their fastnesses were forced by Timour's soldiers, and they were compelled to submit; promising at the same time to embrace the Mahomedan religion. Soon afterwards, however, they rose upon the Tartars appointed to guard them, put nearly a thousand to the sword, and regained their mountains. Timour again attacked them, and was victorious. On this occasion (we are informed by his historian) he followed *a precept of Mahomed*. "*The women were spared, but all male idolaters were put to death!*" The *Sia Posh*, however, were neither exterminated nor conquered, and they are to this day an independent race, with peculiar manners, language, and religion. They are in a state of continual warfare with their neighbours, and are the terror of all the Mahomedans in their vicinity.—ELPHINSTONE's *MSS.*

might be embarrassed by the number of the captives; an order was issued for their slaughter; and terrible vengeance was denounced against any who should attempt to evade the bloody mandate[z]. It is believed that not one escaped death. The history of mankind cannot furnish another example of so horrid an act of deliberate cruelty: yet the being who perpetrated it has been exalted by historians and poets into a demi-god; and several, not contented with ascribing to him that valour, policy, and martial skill, which he undoubtedly possessed, have extolled him for his numberless virtues; and, above all, for his justice and clemency.

When the conquest of Hindostan was completed[a], Timour[b] returned to Samarcund, and seemed inclined to take some repose after his great labours; but the bad government of his son, Meeran Shah[c], in Persia, had led many chiefs, who had been deposed, to attempt recovering

[z] Sherrif-u-deen Aly, who in general glosses over or tries to excuse any act calculated to detract from the reputation of his hero, contents himself with barely relating the facts of this massacre. He adds with apparent feeling, that Moulana Nasr-u-deen Omer, one of the most eminent of the learned men at the court of Timour, who could never consent even to kill a sheep, was on this occasion constrained to order fifteen thousand of his slaves to be slain. They were probably poor Indians, who had sought and obtained the protection of this venerable man on account of his reputation for humanity.

[a] Timour took Meerut, a town near Delhi, between the Jumna and Ganges, by storm, and then marched to subdue the chieftains who inhabit the mountains near the source of the Ganges. All the plain country appears to have submitted to him. We are told by Dow, on the authority of Ferishta, that the Fort of Meerut was taken by mines; and he adds, that when they were *sprung*, they blew the walls and bastions to pieces. This description seems to imply explosion produced by gunpowder, which was not invented (at least for any military purpose) in the time of Timour. In whatever mode he took this city, he treated its garrison still more cruelly than that of Tukreet. Sherrif-u-deen Aly informs us with apparent satisfaction, "that the male infidels of Meerut were all flayed alive, and their wives and children carried into captivity."—*History of Timour Beg*, vol. ii. p. 71.

[b] The English reader, who has only heard of Tamerlane in Lee's tragedy, or even in the translation of his Institutes, will hardly believe that I am writing the history of the same monarch.

[c] Sherrif-u-deen states that the prince Meeran became a lunatic.

their territories. Among these, Ahmed Eel-Khannee succeeded in repossessing himself of Bagdad. The ruler of Georgia had also rebelled. Timour marched thither, and a season was spent before he could again reduce it. Bagdad was attacked and reconquered, and a number of the inhabitants were put to death, as a punishment for having revolted.

About this period, Timour meditated a greater conquest. He proposed to make himself master not only of Syria and Egypt, but of all the country now known by the name of Turkey. A division of Tartars, called Turks, had followed the fortunes of the Seljookee sultans of Iconium. In the confusion attending the decline of that dynasty, Othman, the chief of this tribe, proclaimed himself independent, and fixed his residence at a town called Yengi-Shaher, or "the new city," near Bursa. The descendants of this chief had risen rapidly into power on the ruins of the broken empire of Constantinople; and that imperial city was threatened with immediate destruction by Bayezeed, (the Bajazet of European historians,) at the very moment when Timour's invasion of Asia Minor called the Emperor of the Turks to defend his own dominions, instead of attacking others. Bayezeed was the fourth prince of the Turks, and the great grandson of Othman, the founder of that dynasty[d]. He was a capricious and cruel monarch; but he had displayed great fortitude under some serious reverses; and the rapidity with which he had often led his armies from one extreme of his kingdom to the other, had obtained for him the name of El-durim, or "the lightning." The war[e] between this prince and Timour terminated in an action fought near Angora in Asia Minor; the result of which was the complete triumph of the Moghuls. The Turks

[d] His family, and indeed all their subjects, have been called Othmans, or Othomans, from this chief. The establishment of his power may be fixed in A.D. 1300, Hejirah 700.

[e] Timour's last demand from Bayezeed was, that he should surrender Kara Yusoof, chief of the Turkomans, to whom he had given protection.

are represented as having been wasted by fatigue[f] and thirst, before they commenced the action; and the courage of their leader only shone forth when the battle was lost. He did not descend from an eminence, whither he had gone to view the engagement, until his troops were thrown into irretrievable confusion. His despair then overcame his reason: he threw himself amidst his enemies; and, after a display of useless valour, was made prisoner and carried to the tent of his conqueror, who, according to Persian authors, received him with great kindness, assigned him suitable accommodations, and continued[g] to treat him with distinction as long as he lived, which was little more than a year. Grief at his reverse of fortune is supposed to have caused his death, as it led him to reject the medicines necessary to his recovery from a violent attack of illness[h].

[f] Sherrif-u-deen speaks very highly of the Europeans in Bayezeed's army. They displayed, he says, astonishing valour.

[g] He made him King of Anatolia; but this was a mere form, as Bayezeed was never released.

[h] This account of the conduct of Timour to his captive is taken from his flattering historian, Sherrif-u-deen. The following passage from the works of Sir William Jones shows that a very different account was given by a contemporary historian of the conduct of Timour. "There are two celebrated histories of the Life of Tamerlane: one in Persian, the other in Arabic; both of them written with all the pomp and elegance of the Asiatic style. In the first, the Tartarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, benevolent, and illustrious prince: in the second, as deformed and impious; of a low birth, and detestable principles. It seems difficult at first to reconcile this contradiction; but the difficulty vanishes, when we learn that great part of the Persian history was composed under the inspection of Tamerlane himself, and received only the polish of language from the pen of Ali Yezdi (Sherrif-u-deen); and that the Arabian author bore the most inveterate hatred against that monarch. The story of the iron cage, in which Tamerlane confined Bajazed, is generally treated as a fable upon the authority of the very learned M. d'Herbelot, who asserts, that it is not mentioned by the Arabian historian, though he omits no opportunity of debasing the moral character of his hero. This argument would, perhaps, be decisive, if it were founded upon true premises; but unfortunately, in the thirteenth line of the two hundred and sixty-eighth page, the Arabian expressly affirms, *that Tamerlane did enclose his captive, Ilderim Bajazed, in a cage of iron, in order to retaliate the insult offered to the Persians by a sovereign of the Lower Asia, who had treated Shapor, King of Persia, in the same manner; that*

The defeat of Bayezeed was followed by the fall of his dominions; and the authority of Timour, which had been before recognised over Syria and Egypt, was now established on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus. Every city that resisted the proud victor was laid in ashes, and the inhabitants massacred. This was the fate of Smyrna, to the attack of which Timour was invited by a report of the riches this seaport had acquired by its commerce with Europe. We may form some judgment of the comparative superiority of the Moghuls over the Turks in the art of war, from their having taken this city[i] in fifteen days, which, with the same means of defence, had resisted Bayezeed for seven years.

After these successes[k], Timour was occupied for a short time in settling his vast dominions. When this was accomplished, his passion for conquest (which, like other desires, seems to increase by indulgence) led him to call a general assembly[l] of all the Tartar chiefs; who must have

he intended to carry him in this confinement into Tartary, but that the miserable prince died in Syria, at a place called Akshehr. This fact is not the more true for being asserted by Ebn Arabshah; but it seems strange, that the judicious M. D'Herbelot should have overlooked this passage, and should speak so positively of a book which he had read with so little attention: nor is the point itself of any great consequence; but it may show how cautious we should be in relying upon the authority of illustrious names."—Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Works*, vol. v. page 547.

[i] Sherrif-u-deen Aly gives a very minute account of this siege, in which Timour not only employed such mines as have been described, but every kind of known engine of attack: the besieged, he admits, showed the greatest valour, but they were overcome by the superior numbers of the Tartars, and, except a few, who swam to their vessels, were all slaughtered.

[k] Timour, after his return from Syria, removed a great number of Turkish tribes, who had settled in that country, back to Transoxania, and to the plains of Persia.

[l] We find that Timour frequently called these Coroultais, or "general diets" of the ameers or nobles, before he undertook any great enterprise; and he appears to have always addressed them in a speech calculated to obtain their cordial assent; and, through them, to animate the zeal and courage of their followers. From the remotest periods to the present day, the power of the great monarchs of Tartary has been supported and controlled by these assemblies of ameers or barons.

been a little astonished to hear their monarch, now seventy-one years of age, propose, as his next enterprise, the invasion of China. The race of Chenghiz had been expelled from that empire; and Timour deemed it a duty to which the Tartar nation was called by every consideration of honour, to conquer a country which they had once possessed. All agreed to the proposition; and the preparations were commenced with vigour. Timour settled his eldest sons in the kingdoms they were to govern during his absence. He celebrated the marriages of all the younger branches of his family with the most imperial magnificence, and then assembled two hundred thousand of the best soldiers in his dominions, commanded by the bravest and most experienced officers. His historian has preserved the speech which the aged sovereign made to his ameers, when he called on them to support him in this expedition. "I have not been able," he observed, "to effect the vast conquests I have made without some violence, and the destruction of a great number of true believers; but I am now resolved to perform a good and great action, which will be an expiation of all my sins. I mean to exterminate the idolaters of China; and you, my dear companions! you, who have been the instruments of many of my crimes, shall share in the merit of this great work of repentance. We will proceed to this holy war; we will slay the infidels; mosques shall every where rise on the ruins of their vile temples: and the Koran has told us, 'that good works efface the sins of this world.'"

When all his preparations were completed, Timour marched[m], and passed the Jaxartes when frozen: but his career drew to a close. He was obliged by a violent illness to halt at the city of Otrar[n], where in a few days this

[m] He moved on this celebrated expedition on Wednesday, the twelfth Rujub, A.H. 807.

[n] This city, sometimes called Tarab, is situated, according to Sherrif-u-deen Aly, seventy-six leagues from Samarcund.

mighty conqueror breathed his last, after having declared his grandson, Peer Mahomed Jehangheer, his successor.

Almost all eastern authors who have written the History of Timour, have lavished praises on his memory. They have blazoned his courage, his talents and his virtues, and tried to veil or to excuse, when they could not hide, his deepest crimes. One of the most celebrated, whose regard to truth has made him record all the dreadful massacres perpetrated by his hero, although he confesses that Timour had some sins to answer for, tells us he is nevertheless assured that they were all forgiven before he died, and that his soul passed "from its terrestrial mansion of pride, to the heavenly paradise of eternal delights." We have, however, one exception to this host of flatterers. An Arabian author[o] has written the Life of Timour with all the virulence of an enemy, and has given us a very opposite picture to what we find in Persian historians. The following description, in which this writer introduces the Genius of Winter threatening, with retributive vengeance, the tyrant warrior, who disregarded not only man but the elements, is a fine example of his animated and bold style. "Winter surrounded Timour's army: the sharp sleet and the cold blast opposed their progress. They were given over to the fury of the tempest. The Genius of the Storm entered his assembly, and was heard to exclaim in a voice of thunder, 'Stop thy rapid career, thou unjust tyrant! How long dost thou mean to carry flames over an unhappy world? If thou art a spirit of hell, so am I: we are both old, and our occupation is the same, that of subjugating slaves; and most baneful is the effect of pestilential stars[p], when they meet in terrible conjunction. But proceed to extirpate mankind, and make the earth cold! Yet thou wilt find at last that my blasts are colder. If thou canst boast of

[o] Ahmed-ben-Arabshah.

[p] The conjunction of Saturn and Mars, always baneful, is here likened to Timour and Winter united to spread desolation.

countless bands, who, faithful to thy orders, harass and destroy, know that my wintry days are, with God's aid, destroyers also—and, by the Almighty that liveth, I will abate thee nothing! Thou shalt be overwhelmed with my vengeance—and all thy fire shall not save thee from the cold death of the icy tempest[q]!'" But we must neither form our opinion of this extraordinary man from the eulogiums of his flatterers, nor from the detractions of his enemies: to understand him fully, we must refer to the actions of his life.

The Ameer Timour[r] (for he never assumed the title of khan) was of a good stature[s], had a fair complexion, an open countenance, and a strong shrill voice. He was much maimed, and lame on the right side; a circumstance from which (as has before been stated[t]) he derives the name of Tamerlane. His character merits great attention, for no human being ever possessed qualities so well calculated to attain success in the path of ambition. Born the chief of a Tartar tribe, he inherited valour: but it was in the vicissitudes of his youth, and amid the distractions of his native

[q] This fine passage in Ahmed-ben-Arabshah has been translated into Latin by Sir William Jones.

[r] He latterly took the title of sultan; and his flatterers styled him Saheb Keran, or "lord of the great conjunctions" (of the stars). He was also distinguished by his family name of Gurgan, which both De Guignes and D'Herbelot, by a strange mistake, term Kur Khan; and which, the latter tells us, means "allied to kings." This mistake is evident, from the spelling of this word in every Persian history.

[s] In a history which an abbot of the name of Jean-Du-bec gives of Timour, and which, he states, is taken from the Arabian historian, Al Hacin, we are told, that this monarch had such divine beauty in his eyes, that their lustre was oppressive to beholders. His visage, the same author says, was fair, and his body well proportioned; he had but little hair on his chin. But the good abbot informs us, that Timour, contrary to the usage of his country, never cut or shaved the hair of his head, which "was curled and long, and of a beauteous dusky brown or violet colour." He adds, that the reason which the conqueror gave for this practice was, "*That his mother, who came of the race of Samson, requested him always to preserve his hair as a mark of his descent.*"—PURCHAS'S *Pilgrims*, vol. iii. page 141.

[t] See page 284.

country, that he obtained an experience, which taught him to trust more to policy than force; to hesitate at no means that could accomplish his end; to brave the danger which he could not avert; and, above all, to dive into the secret springs of other men's actions, and thereby to render all around him subservient to his own advancement. We find it difficult to pronounce whether this wonderful man had most art or courage, or by which of these qualities he subdued the greatest number of his enemies. In the community he belonged to, every thing could be effected by a chief to whom his own tribe were inviolably attached, and who was popular with the soldiers. To gain these was the great and constant object of his life. He studied their characters, flattered their vanity, fed their avarice, generously rewarded their valour; above all, he was patient of their discontent, and ready to pardon even their crimes. His example, too, must have had a powerful effect on such a race of men. The early deeds of Timour were the tales wherewith the Tartar mother amused the son she desired to be a hero. Nor did his increased years and greatness prevent his exposing his person in the day of battle. "When I clothed myself in the robe of empire," Timour himself says, "I shut my eyes to safety, and to the repose which is found on the bed of ease[u]."

From the age of twenty to seventy-one, for more than half a century, scarcely a day of this conqueror's life was passed without action or danger; and his experience as a soldier was perhaps as great as that of any man who ever lived. Timour naturally valued himself on the qualities he excelled in, and he considered other men useful only as they were good warriors. To all such he was the best of monarchs. "I ordained," Timour states, "that the right of the warrior should not be injured; and that the soldier who had grown in years should not be deprived of his station or his wages; and that the actions of the soldier should not be suppressed: for those men who sell their permanent

[u] Timour's Institutes.

compensation, and

in the character of
verance. No difficulties
had once undertaken;
rts under circumstances
On such occasions, he
anecdote of his early life.
to take shelter from my ene-
I sat alone many hours.
from my hopeless condition,
was carrying a grain of corn
I numbered the efforts it
The grain fell sixty-nine
insect persevered, and the
top. This sight gave me
and I have never forgot the les-

been idolized by his soldiers;
seven hundred thousand men
was careless of the opinion of
as a conqueror; and a noble
inhabitants of a province mas-
that the dreadful impression
of his ambition. He pretended
rigid in performing his sacred
to pious men, who, in return,
God had given the countries of
sword. The parade which he made
that he either believed in them,
produce an effect favourable to his

by his son, Shah Rokh [1], intro-

to the Emperor of China.—*Asiatic Miscellany*,

duced the holy law of Mahomed into his dominions, and abolished the precepts of Chenghiz Khan. He appears, however, to have made very few material alterations in the military regulations of that great sovereign. We are in possession of his Institutes, or rather Memoirs, in which he mixes an account of the principle actions of his life with rules for the administration of the vast regions he had subdued. It is amusing to read the liberal and wise sentiments contained in the general maxims of government which Timour asserts that he established; but one fact will satisfy us what must have been the result of his actual system. The Tartar leader of the tomaun, the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred, and of ten, were the officers of justice and of revenue in the conquered territories. These men of blood, in whom martial skill and courage were all the qualities which their leader ever required, must have been ill-chosen instruments[a] for restoring a country to prosperity: but they did what was desired; they continued by their dreadful cruelties that impression which the arms of the conqueror had first made, and, by suppressing rebellion, left their monarch at liberty to pursue his conquests in some other quarter of the world.

From what has been said, we may pronounce that Timour, although one of the greatest warriors, was one of the worst monarchs. He was able, brave, and generous; but ambitious, cruel, and oppressive. He considered the hap-

[a] Timour in his Institutes informs us, that, in order to keep those officers whom he nominated to great charges suspended between hope and fear, he appointed to each station another person, whom he denominates a Kotul, or "successor." The learned editor of the Translation of his Institutes remarks, that "by this artful policy, he not only secured his authority over the provinces which he divided among his Ameers, by placing a spy (for such was the Kotul) over the conduct of each of them, but made every province answer the purpose of satisfying *two* instead of *one* of his Ameers."—TIMOUR'S *Institutes*, p. 76. It is difficult to understand how a policy could succeed, which proclaimed suspicion at the moment it gave charge; or how both parties could have been satisfied where their interests were opposed, and the prosperity of one at variance with that of the other.

happiness for perishable honour, merit comp
are worthy of reward and encouragement[x]."

There was no feature more remarkable in tl
Timour than his extraordinary perseverance.
ever led him to recede from what he had on
and he often persisted in his efforts unde
which led all around him to despair. On s
used to relate to his friends an anecdote
"I once," said he, "was forced to take she
mies in a ruined building, where I sat
Desiring to divert my mind from my h
I fixed my eyes on an ant, that was carr
larger than itself up a high wall. I nu
made to accomplish this object. The
times to the ground; but the insect
seventieth time it reached the top.
courage at the moment, and I have ner
son[y]." with

Such a leader must have been i chiefs,
and with an army of six or seven empire.
attached to his person, he was c minated
others. His object was fame as a afterwards
city was laid in ashes, or the inhal Khulleel
sacred, on a cold calculation tha and had many
would facilitate the purposes of h power he had
to be very religious, was rigi celebrated Shad-
duties, and paid attention to overnment. That
used to assure him that God ed with a Tartar
other monarchs to his sword. over her lover, that
of these prophecies proves t to the gratification of
or thought they might prod of ambition more strik-
designs. sures which Timour had

Timour, we are informed

[x] Timour's Institutes.

[y] Persian Manuscript.

[z] Letter from Shah Rokh to
vol. i. page 89.

of the country."
ment of Khulleel Sultan, who, it
and Timour twice intended put-

half the world, were
-an, whose extravagance
could not last. The chiefs
throne, were scandalized at
successor of the great Ti-
were aggravated by the com-
...es in the deceased emperor's
gust a woman of low birth and
above them[e]. These feelings gave
... ended in the ruin of the unfortu-
...ized by the conspirators, and sent
: where, instead of endeavouring to
cover his power, he spent his whole
to his beloved mistress, who had been
cruel indignities. She was led in chains
of Samarcund, and had to sustain the
...s of an irritated populace, who not only
many of the oppressions they had suffered
n of Khulleel, but viewed in her the cause of
...py prince's misfortunes.

...n Rokh, the uncle of Khulleel Sultan, marched
...san, on hearing of his nephew's dethronement.
...ty was immediately acknowledged in Samarcund
...all Transoxania; and Khulleel, unable to endure
from the object of his love, hastened to throw
upon Shah Rokh's clemency. The generous mo-
commiserated his sufferings, and not only gave him
government of Khorassan, but restored his beautiful
...tress to his arms. This amiable but weak prince died
Khorassan some years afterwards; and Shad-ul-Mulk
acted a part which has given fame to her memory: she
struck a poniard to her heart, and the lovers were buried in
one tomb at Rhe[f].

Sultan Shah Rokh was the fourth son of the Ameer

[e] De Guignes.
[f] De Guignes.

Timour. He held the government of Khorassan at his father's death, and declined entering into any contest for the crown of Tartary. When his nephew was expelled, he marched, and made himself master of the empire. He was a brave and generous, not an ambitious prince; and, during a reign of thirty-eight years, we hear of no wars, except with the Turkoman tribes of Asia Minor, whose power Timour had overcome, but not destroyed; and who, since his death, had recovered their possessions, and extended their dominion over Aderbijan. Shah Rokh, whose courage, we are told by eastern historians, was equal to his virtue, defeated Kara Yusoof in three great battles; and, after the death of that Turkoman prince, was still more successful in a war with his sons, Jehan Shah and Secunder, the former of whom was reduced to the condition of a tributary governor of Aderbijan, and the latter became a fugitive from his country. But Shah Rokh inherited no passion for conquest. Imitating the virtuous son[g] of Chenghiz, he desired not to extend, but to repair, the ravages committed by his father. He rebuilt the walls of Herat and Merv, and restored almost every town and province in his dominions to prosperity. He also encouraged men of science and learning; and his court was very splendid. He cultivated the friendship of contemporary monarchs; and we read in Khondemir a very curious account of some embassies which passed between him and the Emperor of China[h].

Sultan Shah Rokh died at the age of seventy-one: he was succeeded by his son, Ulugh Beg, a prince who had made peaceful studies[i] the chief object of his life, and had entirely neglected war; a science more important than all others to a person in his condition. His fate was cruel: he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by his own son,

[g] Octai. See p. 261.

[h] Asiatic Miscellany, vol. i. p. 77.

[i] Ulugh Beg assembled all the astronomers of his kingdom; and the celebrated tables, known by his name, were the result of their labours.

Abdul Lateef[k]. It is a consolation to know that this unnatural prince enjoyed the power he attained by so monstrous a crime, only for six months: he was slain by his own soldiers.

After the death of Ulugh Beg, we find a crowd of the descendants of Timour contending for the provinces of his empire. So great was the respect entertained for the blood of the hero, that every one who could boast of it in his veins, found adherents who enabled him either to obtain a throne, or an honourable grave. Baber[l], the grandson of Shah Rokh, established himself in the government of Khorassan and the neighbouring countries. This prince, who had been very dissipated, assured his friends of his resolution to reform, by a solemn vow at the tomb of the Imaum Reza, at Mushed, to renounce wine; and for a time he had the fortitude to preserve this sacred pledge. But habit could not be conquered: he renewed his excesses, and brought on an illness which terminated his life.

Baber was succeeded by Abou Seyd[m], the great grandson of Timour. This prince, who, during the life of Shah Rokh, had governed Shiraz and Fars, repaired at his death to the court of his successor; and having, during the changes that occurred, greatly increased his power and influence, he made an effort at the death of Baber to obtain the empire[n]. He was at first successful, but ultimately lost his life in an expedition against the Turkomans[o]. Abou Seyd left eleven sons; but none of them merit notice, except Oman Shaikh, who was appointed governor of Andekân, a province of Tartary; and his memory is preserved, as the father of the

[k] De Guignes.

[l] Not the famous founder of the Moghul empire in India.

[m] Abou Seyd was the son of Meerza Sultan Mahomed, the son of Meeran Shah, the son of Timour.

[n] De Guignes.

[o] He was obliged to retreat from Kárábágh in consequence of want of provisions: he was pursued, made prisoner, and slain by Hussein Beg, the chief of the Turkomans.

justly celebrated Baber, who, after a long and glorious struggle against Shybuk Khan Usbeg, the enemy and conqueror of his family, retreated to India. There his great qualities obtained him one of the most splendid empires in the world, which his descendants long enjoyed, and of which they are at this day the nominal sovereigns.

At the death of Abou Seyd, Sultan Hussein Meerza, a descendant of Timour, made himself master of the empire. His great victories over the numerous competitors for the throne, as well as over the Usbegs, obtained him the title of Ghâzee, or "the victorious." His court boasted of many eminent men. The celebrated Persian historian, Khondemir, was his subject; and has perpetuated the good qualities and triumphs of his sovereign. But the fortune of Hussein faded before that of the prince who had driven Baber from his dominions; and his son and successor, the last of the race of Timour who reigned in Persia, was compelled by the victorious Usbegs to seek his safety in a foreign country [p].

The Turkomans of Asia Minor have been before noticed. They were divided, as has been stated, into two great tribes: the Kârâ-Koinloo, and Ak-Koinloo, or "the tribes of the black and white sheep," from their carrying the figures of these animals in their standards. Kârâ Mahomed, the founder of the first dynasty, left his small territories, of which the capital was Van, in Armenia, to his son, Kârâ Yusoof, who, though possessed of considerable power, was compelled to fly before the sword of Timour [q]. When that conqueror died, he returned from Egypt, and was victorious in an action with Ahmed Eel-Khannee, the ruler of Bagdad, whom he made prisoner and put to death. After this success, Kârâ Yusoof collected an army of above

[p] This prince, whose name was Bâidezunnân, found refuge with Shah Ismail Sooffee, who had established his power in the eastern parts of Persia: he was settled at Tabreez; and the Othoman emperor, Selim, when he took that city, sent him to Constantinople, where he died.

[q] De Guignes.

a hundred thousand men, and was preparing to attack Sultan Shah Rokh, but he was suddenly taken ill, and died at a small village near Tabreez [r]. Never did an occurrence mark more forcibly the character of that ephemeral power which rests solely on military means, than what took place at the death of this chief. No enemy was near; but the loss of their leader at once disorganized the numerous army which Kârâ Yusoof had assembled: and while the different leaders were thinking of their own views, the body of him whom they had so recently honoured and obeyed as their sovereign, lay naked and mutilated, the ears having been cut off on account of their rich pendants. The putrid corpse was at length interred by an inferior officer, induced by pity to pay the last sad rites to one who, the hour before he died, commanded the service of several millions of subjects.

This prince was succeeded by Secunder, who commenced his reign by putting to death his brother, Abou Seyd. He was defeated, as has been before stated, by Shah Rokh, who added Rhe to his own possessions, and gave Tabreez to Jehan Shah, the brother of Secunder. The latter survived these events but a short period: he fell by the hands of his own son; and the parricide was protected by his uncle, Jehan Shah, who, after having fully established himself in Aderbijan, conquered Georgia, great part of Irak, and all Fars, and Kerman [s]. He desired to carry his arms into Khorassan, but was compelled to return by the rebellion of his two sons, to whom he had committed the charge of Tabreez and Bagdad. He had no sooner reduced them [t], than he was obliged to assemble all his forces to encounter Uzun Hussun, chief of the Turkomans of the white sheep, who was rising rapidly into fame, and had established a powerful principality at Diarbekir. Jehan Shah fell in one

[r] De Guignes.

[s] De Guignes.

[t] One of his sons, Peer Boodâk Khan, who had seized Bagdad, defended that city for some time, but was made prisoner and put to death.

of the first actions he fought with this chief; and his son, Hussun Aly, who collected a large force, was equally unfortunate. After some vicissitudes, he was defeated and made prisoner by Uzun Hussun, who put him and all his family and relations to death. This cruelty is commended by many historians, who assert that it was necessary to avenge the honour of his family. Secunder, the son of Kârâ Yusoof, when he fled from Shah Rokh, had by accident made Kârâ Osman, the grandfather of Uzun Hussun, prisoner. He confined him at Erzeroom, where he died; and Secunder had the barbarity, when he afterwards visited that place, to dig up the body of his enemy, that he might strike the head off and send it in triumph to the Sultan of Egypt. This horrid and brutal outrage produced an irreconcilable feud between the two tribes; and the extirpation of all the relations and descendants of Secunder was considered an inadequate revenge for his base and insulting treatment of the remains of Kârâ Osman.

The history of the chiefs of the tribe of the white sheep resembles that of their rivals and enemies. The dynasty which Uzun Hussun founded, is sometimes termed Bâyenderee, from the name of a person to whom they trace their descent. We may date their first aggrandizement from the reign of Timour, who accepted the services of one of their leaders, and rewarded his valour and attachment with several grants in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. Kârâ Osman, the chief who was so distinguished, entered, after the death of Timour, into a war with the tribe of the black sheep [u]. His fate has been related, as well as the vengeance taken for the insults offered to his corpse, by Uzun Hussun, or Hussun the Long [x]. The latter, after extirpating his rivals, engaged in a war with Sultan Abou Seyd. He is said to have owed his triumph over a very superior force, more to his skill and activity, than his cou-

[u] De Guignes.

[x] He is often termed in European history Uzun Kassim.

rage. We are told by his historians that he avoided a close action, but continually harassed his enemies by a species of warfare which is termed Kossâckee[y], or "resembling the Kossâcks." In other words, the war was carried on against their supplies. His success was complete: the army of the sultan was reduced to such distress by these predatory attacks, that they were forced to disperse without fighting a battle; and in that hurry and confusion which always attends the flight of an irregular body of men, their monarch fell into the hands of Uzun Hussun, who thus became sovereign over a great part of the dominions of the House of Timour[z].

Uzun Hussun, after making himself master of Persia, turned his arms in the direction of Turkey; but his career was arrested by the superior genius of the Turkish emperor, Mahomed the Second: he suffered a signal defeat, which terminated his schemes of ambition. He died, after a reign of eleven years, at the age of seventy. All authors agree in ascribing valour and wisdom to this prince. We are told by an European ambassador[a] who resided at his court, that he was a tall thin man, of a very open and engaging countenance; and that his army amounted to fifty thousand horse, a great proportion of which were of very indifferent quality.

From the death of Uzun Hussun until the elevation of Shah Ismail Suffaveah, a period of twenty-six years, there are few events worthy of notice. The sons, grandsons, and nephews, of Hussun, contended with each other for his territories; and by their dissensions not only accelerated their own ruin, but prepared the way for a dynasty of a character very different from any that had yet governed Persia. The inhabitants of that country, wearied of the continual wars carried on by chiefs of military tribes, who to the common

[y] The Marhattas, who are masters in this species of warfare, also call it Kossâckee; and that term proves the source of their art in predatory war.

[z] De Guignes.

[a] An envoy from Venice, sent by that republic to solicit the aid of Uzun Hussun against the Turks.

motives of hostility often added those of family feuds, saw with delight a race of monarchs rise into power, likely, from their origin and habits, to be exempt from many of those feelings which, by their tendency to perpetuate discord, had made the nation despair of ever again obtaining the first of all blessings, internal peace.

Chapter XII.

THE SUFFAVEAN DYNASTY OF KINGS, FROM THE RISE OF THAT FAMILY, UNTIL THE DEATH OF ABBAS THE GREAT.

Shah Ismail [b] was the first of the Suffavean monarchs. He traced his descent [c] from Moossâh, the seventh Imaum; and almost all his ancestors were regarded as holy men, and some of them as saints. They had long been settled at Ardebil, where they lived as retired devotees, that they might attract disciples and obtain that fame which they pretended to despise. The first of this family who acquired any considerable reputation was Shaikh Suffee-u-deen [d],

[b] In the account of the first reigns of the Suffavean monarchs, I follow Mahomed Kumâl-ebn-Ismail, who was an officer of eminence at the court of Abbas the Second. Though a flatterer, he is esteemed the best authority. He has written a small but valuable work, called Zubd-ul-Tuarikh, or "Historical Selections."

[c] We find in the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh a full account of the ancestors of Shah Ismail, who, according to that work, was the son of Sultan Hyder, the son of Juneyd, the son of Shaikh Ibrahim, the son of Khaujah Aly, the son of Sudder-u-deen, the son of Shaikh Suffee-u-deen Ishâck, the son of Jubreel, the son of Shaikh Sâlâh, the son of Shaikh Kûttub-u-deen, the son of Shaikh Sâlâh-u-deen, the son of Russheed, the son of Mahomed-ul-Hafiz, the son of Aiwuz-ul-Khaus, the son of Firoze Shah Zereen-Kûllâh, the son of Syud Mahomed of Arabia, the son of Syud Aboul Kâssim, the son of Aboul Kâssim Humzâ, the son of Moossâh Kâzim, the seventh Imaum.

[d] Suffee-u-deen means "the purity of the faith." It has been a subject of controversy, whether the name of Suffee, as applied to this person, was a proper name, or meant to designate his religious character as a Sooffee. It

from whom this dynasty takes its name of Suffaveah. He was succeeded by Sudder-u-deen [e], who, as well as his immediate descendants, Khaujah Aly, Juneyd, and Hyder, acquired the greatest reputation for sanctity. Contemporary monarchs, we are informed, visited the cell of Sudder-u-deen. The great Timour, when he went to see this holy man, demanded what favour he could confer upon him. "Release the prisoners you have brought from Turkey [f]," was the noble and pious request of the saint. The conqueror complied; and the grateful tribes, when they regained their liberty, declared themselves the devoted disciples of him to whom they owed it [g]. Their children preserved sacred the obligation of their fathers, and the descendants of these captives became the supporters of the family of Suffee, and enabled the son of a devotee to ascend one of the most splendid thrones in the world. History does not furnish us with a better motive for obedience, or a nobler origin of power.

Khaujah Aly, after visiting Mecca, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He died there, and his tomb is still shown as that of the Shaikh [h] of Persia [i]. His grandson, Juneyd, took

might have been either: both Suffee and Souffee have the same root, Sufâ, which means "clean, pure;" and as it is a point that never can be settled, it does not merit discussion. There is no doubt that Shaikh Suffee-u-deen was a Sooffee, or "philosophical devotee;" but his being named as he was is not essential to establish this fact.

[e] He is often called Sultan Sudder-u-deen; or "the pre-eminent of the faith."

[f] The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh observes, "That when Shaikh Suffee died, Sudder-u-deen succeeded. The temporal rulers of the age paid their respects to this holy man. Among them was the Ameer Timour, who bade Sudder-u-deen demand a favour of him. The saint required that he would release the prisoners he had brought from Room. (Turkey). Timour complied with his desires." There appears no reason to doubt the correctness of this writer, though both D'Herbelot and Sir W. Jones relate this anecdote of Suffee-u-deen, who is always represented as a person of extraordinary piety and great fame.

[g] Mirkhond and Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[h] He is often called Shaikh Aly: both Shaikh and Khaujah are terms of respect.

[i] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

up the sacred mantle [k] after the death of his father [l]; and so great a crowd of disciples attended this holy man, that Jehan Shah, the chief of the tribe of Kârâ Koinloo, or the black sheep, who at that time ruled Aderbijan, became alarmed at their numbers, and banished him from Ardebil. Juneyd went next to Diarbekir, and met with the kindest reception from its ruler, Hussun, a chief whose history has been given, and who became so celebrated under the name of Uzun Hussun. This prince thought it an honour to connect himself by marriage with the holy man, and gave his sister to Juneyd; but neither this alliance, nor the numbers and influence of his followers, could enable the banished priest to re-establish himself at Ardebil. Disappointed in that hope by the jealous policy of Jehan Shah, he went with his disciples to Shirwan; and soon afterwards lost his life from the wound of an arrow which he received in a conflict with the troops of that province [m]. His son, Sultan Hyder [n], succeeded him. Hyder was of proud descent, as his mother was the sister of Uzun Hussun; and his conduct showed that he was no less alive to his duties, as the descendant from a race of warriors, than to those he inherited as the representative of a family of saints. His uncle, Uzun Hussun, who by his overthrow of Jehan

[k] The mantles or patched garments used by Ascetics or Sooffee teachers, have always been, in the East, objects of religious veneration. It is by leaving their mantle that these holy men transfer their empire over the minds of their disciples, to their successors. Their power is grounded on their sacred character, which rests on their poverty and contempt of worldly goods. Their mantle is in general *their all;* and its transfer, therefore, marks their heir. Some of these mantles can be traced for several centuries, and their value increases with their age. They become relics which are almost worshipped; and their possessor has many disciples and followers, who venerate the tattered and patched garment much more than the person who wears it.

[l] The father of Juneyd was Shaikh Ibrahim; but little is said of him, except that he was a pious man.

[m] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[n] The lofty names of sultan and shah were often assumed by religious men, who pretended to possess a celestial kingdom.

Shah and the Sultan Abou Seyd, had become sovereign of all Persia, gave him his daughter* in marriage; and he had three sons by her, Sultan Aly, Ibrahim Meerza, and Sultan Shah Ismail. When the eldest attained the age of manhood, Hyder assembled all his followers, and, with the view of revenging his father's death, made an attack upon Shirwan: but the attempt was unfortunate; he was defeated and slain by the governor of that province[p]. The remains of the martyr (for so this warlike priest was deemed) were interred at Ardebil. He was canonized, and his tomb became a place of devotion to his followers.

Sultan Aly was proclaimed the successor of his father; but he and his brothers were seized at Ardebil, by Yâcoob, one of the descendants of their grandfather, Uzun Hussun, who, jealous of the numerous disciples that resorted to Ardebil, confined them to the Hill Fort of Istakhr, in Fars: they remained prisoners there upward of four years: then taking advantage of the anarchy that followed Yacoob's death, they made their escape, and flying to Ardebil, were soon joined by many of their adherents. But, before a sufficient force could be collected, they were attacked, and Sultan Aly was slain. His brothers fled in disguise to Ghilan, where Ibrahim Meerza died.

Ismail, the third son of Hyder, was a child during these events. We know no particulars of his life until he had attained the age of fourteen, when he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched against the great enemy of his family, the ruler of Shirwan[q], whom he defeated. Alwund-beg, the son of Yâkoob-beg, a prince of the dynasty of Ak-koinloo, or "white sheep," heard of this

* The name of this princess, according to Mahomedan authors, was Aulum Shoaeh, or "the light of the world." But we are informed by a contemporary European writer, that she was called Martha, and was the daughter of Uzun Hussun by the Christian Lady Despina, a daughter of Calo Joannes, King of Trebizond.—PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, vol. v. page 382.

p Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

q The title of this chief was Shirwan Shah, or "the King of Shirwan."

with alarm, and hastened with all the troops he could collect to crush the young warrior. But his army had no better fate than the troops of Shirwan; and the triumphant prince, who had become master of Aderbijan, established his residence at Tabreez. Next year, he marched into Irak, and fought a great action near Hamadan with Sultan Moorâd, another prince of the family of Ak-koinloo, whom he vanquished. After this success, he soon made himself master of all that province; and in less than four years from his leaving Ghilan, the son of the pious Hyder was the acknowledged sovereign of Persia.

Shah Ismail possessed a great advantage in not being born the chief of a tribe. His family were objects of hostility to none; and were regarded by almost all his subjects with religious veneration. The most celebrated of his ancestors were Sooffees, and had, no doubt, held all the tenets of that sect of philosophical deists; but it was necessary that their holy raptures should have an object more comprehensible to the mass of their adherents than the Divinity. They chose their ancestor Aly, the companion, nephew, and son-in-law of the prophet. In the history of Aly, as represented by the Persians, was something peculiarly calculated to interest the best feelings of human nature. His followers contemplated with an admiration bordering on devotion, a youth of fourteen becoming the first convert of the prophet; displaying throughout his life an unshaken constancy in the opinions he had so early adopted; inferior to none in zeal, and superior to all in courage; cherished by his uncle, who bestowed on him his favourite daughter, and destined him for his successor: yet after all deprived for a period of an inheritance, which seemed on every ground his right; and submitting patiently to the wrongs he sustained from the elevation of the three first successors to the prophet, Aboubeker, Omar, and Osman, rather than draw that sword, which was the terror of infidels, against true believers, who, however misled, were still followers of the faith he loved.

Though Aly ultimately attained the caliphate, he enjoyed that dignity but a short period. His desire to prevent contentions among the "faithful," made him submit his claims to the decision of an artful enemy, and he was defrauded of power before he fell under the dagger of an assassin. The injuries he sustained had produced early divisions among the Mahomedans; and these were increased by the misfortunes of his son, Hussein, who, deceived by the promises of his adherents into an attempt to gain dominion, perished miserably on the sandy plains of Kerbelah; while his brother Hussun was doomed to the more cruel fate of being poisoned by a wife he loved, who was led by her avarice and ambition to become the instrument of his implacable enemies.

From the time when these events occurred, there had always been a sect, who, upholding the rights of Aly and his children, addressed them in their prayers, and vented secret curses on their oppressors. But the great power of the Soonee, or "orthodox Mahomedans," had repressed these sectaries, who had been often visited by the most cruel persecutions. The ancestors of Shah Ismail had instructed their adherents in the tenets of this sect. Aly was the sacred name on which they continually called. His wrongs were the object of their inmost thoughts; and that hatred which indulging in these sentiments excited against his enemies was, by an easy and natural transition, transferred to such as continued to respect and reverence names which they abhorred. It was in his active and invincible hatred to all Soonees, that is, to all persons who believed in the superior right of the three caliphs who preceded Aly, that the disciple of the family of Suffee recognised himself as a zealous follower of the new faith; and the very name of Sheah, which signifies "a sectary," and which his enemies had given as a reproach, was changed into a title in which he gloried, and by which he deemed himself pledged to eternal hostility against the adherents of the enemies of Aly. No feeling could be more calculated to promote the great-

ness of Persia as an independent kingdom. It was a flame which spread to every bosom; and, as a powerful motive of action, while the fervour continued, it was, perhaps, fully equal in force to that spirit of patriotism which can only be known in nations enjoying a free and just government.

Ismail took full advantage of the enthusiasm of his disciples, to cherish feelings so essential for the political greatness of his empire. The seven Turkish tribes[r], who had been the chief promoters of his glory and success, were distinguished by a particular dress: they wore a red cap, and thence received the Turkish name of Kuzzil-bâsh, or "red heads," which has descended to their posterity. Their swords were consecrated by these distinctions to the defence of the Sheah religion; and a sense of that obligation has survived the family by whom it was created.

It would be tedious to detail the actions of Ismail. He was occupied for some years after he ascended the throne in subjugating those provinces of Persia which continued to resist his authority. When that object was accomplished, he attacked and took Bagdad and its surrounding territories. In the next year he encountered the Usbegs in Khorassan, defeated them, and slew their chief, Shybuk Khan: this victory gave him complete possession of that large and valuable province. He next proceeded to Bulkh, subdued it, and then returned to Koom. He had enjoyed but a short repose, when he was called to defend Khorassan, again invaded by the Usbegs, who, however, were once more defeated; and Ismail, by leaving some of his bravest troops in that quarter, provided against their future predatory attacks[s].

Hitherto Ismail was successful, but he had now to en-

[r] The names of these tribes were the Oostâjaloo, the Shâmloo, the Nikâlloo, the Bâhârloo, the Zûlkudder, the Kujur, and the Affshâr. Each of these (according to the Persian manuscript from which I have taken their names) had seven subordinate tribes under them; but this probably refers not to tribes, but to subordinate teerahs, or branches.

[s] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

counter a powerful enemy. Sultan Selim[t] advanced from Constantinople toward Persia, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. An action took place on the frontier of Aderbijan, in which the Persian monarch suffered a complete defeat. Among other officers of rank, Meer Syud Sheriff, the Sudder-ul-Suddoor[u], or chief pontiff of the kingdom, was slain. Ismail, who had contemplated victory in this contest as the consummation of his glory, tried all that the most desperate valour could effect. We are told by Persian authors, that the cannon of Selim were linked together, to prevent the charge of the Persian cavalry, and that the sabre of the brave monarch cut asunder the large chain by which they were joined. But all was in vain; the day was irretrievably lost. The effect of so great a reverse, on the sanguine mind of Ismail, was deep and lasting: though before of a cheerful disposition, he was never afterwards seen to smile.

The Turkish monarch reaped no other fruits from his victory, but the glory of defeating Ismail, and the plunder of the Persian camp. Want of supplies forced him to retreat; and the great preparations which he subsequently made to conquer Persia, were directed against the Egyptians and Circassians. The death of Selim, some time afterwards, encouraged Ismail to cross the Araxes, and attack

[t] According to Turkish historians, Selim proclaimed his expedition against Ismail a religious war: the royal saint of Persia is often termed by them Shytân-Kooli, or "the slave of the devil."

The Chevalier D'Ohsson, in his learned work on the Mahomedan religion, has given us a copy of the letter sent by Sultan Selim to Shah Ismail on this occasion, which is arrogant and imperious. The haughty style of the monarch was supported by the Turkish Oulamâh, who, in the Fetwâhs they published at the commencement of this war, declare that there is more merit in killing one Persian Sheah, than seventy Christians.—D'Ohsson's *Ottoman Empire*, p. 101.

[u] This office was never bestowed on any but a Syud, or descendant of the prophet. The person holding it was at the head of the ecclesiastical establishment; and, during the Suffavean dynasty, enjoyed great power. His title of Sudder-ul-Suddoor may be translated, "the pre-eminent among the ministers."

Georgia, which he subdued. But this was his last conquest: he died[x] at Ardebil, where he had gone on a pilgrimage to the tomb of his father.

The Persians dwell with rapture on the character of Ismail, deeming him not only the founder of a great dynasty, but the person to whom the faith they glory in owes its establishment as a national religion. He is called in their histories Shah Shean[y], or "the King of the Sheahs;" an appellation marking the affection with which his memory is regarded. Though he may not be entitled to their extravagant praises, he certainly was an able and valiant monarch. During his whole life, he only suffered one defeat; and the large park of artillery, and improved knowledge in war, which Sultan Selim must have derived from his intercourse with Europe, were, no doubt, the real causes of the advantage which he gained.

Tâmâsp succeeded his father, when he was ten years of age, and fell of course into the hands of his ministers. He had hardly ascended the throne, when he was involved in a war with Obeid Khan, ruler of the Usbegs; but we find him compelled to return from Khorassan, whither he had gone to encounter that monarch, to his capital of Kasveen, in consequence of a violent dispute between two of the Kuzzil-bâsh tribes, whose feuds threatened to disturb the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. His presence settled this quarrel; and he hastened back to Khorassan, where one of his generals had been completely defeated. The royal army encountered the enemy between Jâm and Mushed, and gave them a signal overthrow. After this success,

[x] This prince died on Monday the 19th of Rujub, A.H. 930. He left four sons (Tâmâsp Meerza, Sâm Meerza, Baharam Meerza, and Ilkhâs Meerza) and five daughters.

[y] We are told by a contemporary European traveller in Persia, that his subjects deemed him a saint, and made use of his name in their prayers. Many disdained to wear armour when they fought under Ismail; and his soldiers used to bare their breasts to their enemies, and court death, exclaiming, "Sheah! Sheah!" to mark the holy cause for which they fought.—Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. v. p. 384.

Tâmâsp went to Bagdad; the government there had been usurped by Zûlfekâr Khan, a chief of the Kurd tribe, of Kûlhoor[a], whom he took, and put to death.

Though the armies of the young king were victorious against all foreign enemies, the peace of his kingdom appears at the commencement of his reign to have been continually disturbed by the jealousy, violence, and ambition of the Kuzzil-bâsh chiefs, eager to attain power during the minority of their sovereign. The tribe of Shamloo[a] had one day a scuffle with that of Tukûloo, and pursued their chief, Jehan Sultan, till he took refuge in the king's tents: a conflict ensued with the royal guards, and Hussein Khan Shamloo was slain. Encouraged by the fall of this chief, the whole tribe of Tukûloo prepared to assault that of Shamloo, and would listen to no terms unless the young monarch were delivered over to their charge; in other words, unless their chief, by possessing the royal person, became the ruler of Persia. Tâmâsp, who was now sixteen years of age, heard the insulting proposal with undisguised indignation. He called on all the soldiers of his army to save their king from being the prisoner of an insolent and overbearing tribe[b]. The appeal was successful; almost all declared their readiness to support their prince. Taking advantage of their warmth in his cause, he commanded a general attack on the tribe of Tukûloo; though the clan was numerous and brave, they were soon overpowered, a great number were slain, and the remainder compelled to find safety in flight.

The Usbegs, taking advantage of the internal distractions in Persia, invaded Khorassan, and invested Herat so closely for eighteen months, that its inhabitants were reduced to

[a] This tribe, which is now settled near Kermanshah, is still very numerous.

[a] This term is a compound of Sham Syria and loo-son, and its signification of "Sons of Syria" proves it to have been one of those tribes that Timour conveyed prisoners to Persia when he subdued Bayezeed.

[b] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

live on the flesh of dogs and cats; but Tâmâsp advanced to their relief, and the Usbeg chief abandoned the siege and retreated with precipitation into Tartary. A short time after this event, the tranquillity of the empire was threatened by a more serious danger. Solimân, the Turkish Emperor of Constantinople, invited by an ex-ruler of Aderbijan and by some discontented nobles, invaded Persia, and after conquering all the territories to the west of the Araxes, the provinces between the Tigris and Euphrates, and part of Kurdistan, besieged Tabreez, which was forced to surrender. Encouraged by this rapid success, he marched to Sultaneah, and would have reduced it, had not the great severity of the season compelled him to retreat. He proceeded to Bagdad, which was evacuated at his approach. Next season he again entered Persia, but was soon compelled to retire. The Persian monarch, who had hitherto acted on the defensive and avoided an engagement, commenced the most active operations the moment Solimân retreated. His advance into Armenia forced the Turkish army to hasten to the defence of their new conquests[c], almost all of which they were obliged to abandon.

The rebellion of Sâm Meerza, a prince of the blood royal, threw Khorassan into confusion; and Obeid Khan Usbeg, whose invasions appear to have been periodical, made himself master of Herat; but on the approach of Tâmâsp he plundered that noble city, and retired with immense spoil across the Oxus. The king continued his march to Candahar; and Sâm Meerza fled at his approach. The rule of this city and the province subject to it was bestowed on Peer Boodâk Khan Kujur[d], who next year surrendered it to Kâmerân Meerza, the son of Baber, the reigning Emperor of Delhi.

The reign of Tâmâsp owes much of its celebrity to the royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor

[c] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[d] This is the first mention I have met in Persian history of any noble of the tribe of Kujur, by whom the throne is now occupied.

Hoomâyoon, when forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality; and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority in the exercise of this national virtue. The arrival of the fugitive Hoomâyoon presented an opportunity of a very singular nature for displaying this noble quality; and we know no example of a distressed monarch so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All the means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest; and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tâmâsp merited the praise which his conduct obtained from distant nations: but his own feelings must have been most gratified by the applause of his subjects; every one of whom felt elevated by the munificent hospitality of his sovereign to the fugitive Emperor of India.

Ilkhâs, the brother of Tâmâsp, had rebelled, on hearing a false report of his death. He submitted; but was subsequently led by his fears to fly to Turkey, and entered there into an alliance with the Emperor of Constantinople, which encouraged Solimân to another invasion of Persia. Ilkhâs had many friends; and the danger might have been serious, if he had been able to preserve terms with Solimân, which, fortunately for his brother, he could not. After he had advanced as far as Isfahan, and the Turkish army had made themselves masters of all Aderbijan, the affairs of the reigning monarch were suddenly restored by their disagreement. Solimân made an attempt to seize Ilkhâs, who fled and took refuge in Kurdistan: he there claimed the protection of one of the principal chiefs, who soon afterwards was tempted, by a large bribe, to deliver him into the hands of his justly-incensed brother: he was imprisoned, and after a short period[*] it was announced that his life had terminated.

[*] He died in less than a year after his imprisonment, and was supposed to have been put to death. The chief who gave him up was Surkhâb-beg

The war with Turkey continued for some years, but was marked by few events of consequence. Tâmâsp subdued Georgia, and took some inconsiderable cities in Asia Minor[f]; but he fell back when the Turkish emperor advanced to the Araxes. His enemies however soon retreated; and the support which the unfortunate Georgians had afforded them so irritated the King of Persia, that he overran the whole province, and led thirty thousand of its inhabitants into bondage.

The anarchy[g] which prevailed in the Turkish empire gave Persia a respite, and was favourable to the age and indolence of Shah Tâmâsp, who had now fixed his residence at Kazveen, and given over the charge of his armies to his generals. Bayezeed, a son of the Emperor Solimân, had fled to him for shelter, and was at first most kindly treated; but his bad conduct, and that of his attendants, forced the King of Persia to a very different course: he not only confined him, but gave him up to his father, between whom and Tâmâsp the peace that had been before concluded was thus confirmed. In the last twenty years of the reign of Tâmâsp, the chief events related by his historians, are the periodical invasions of Khorassan by the Usbeg Tartars; and the ravages of a famine[h], which, we are told[i], was so dreadful, that men became cannibals and devoured their own species. The country was also partially afflicted by

Waly, of Ardelân: his capital was Shâher-zour. He pretended to negotiate an arrangement between the brothers, by which Tâmâsp agreed to give the government of Shirwan to Ilkhâs. But the death of the latter, and the annual payment of a thousand tomâns to Surkhâb from the royal treasury, proclaimed the character of this disgraceful transaction.

[f] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[g] Solimân the First, duped by one of his queens, had become the assassin of his children, and by cruelty and injustice had thrown several provinces of his empire into rebellion.

[h] We are informed by the gravest Persian writers, that this famine was relieved by showers from heaven. According to them, a substance fell resembling a diminutive grain of wheat, which, when mixed with a small portion of flour, became most nourishing food.

[i] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

the plague; and at Ardebil alone, thirty thousand persons perished.

Tâmâsp died at the age of sixty-four, after a reign of more than fifty-three years. He was of a kind and generous disposition; appears to have possessed prudence and spirit; and if not distinguished by great qualities, was free from any remarkable vices. In his early life he had probably been guilty of some excesses, but he publicly repented [k] at the age of twenty-nine, and ordered all the taverns in his kingdom to be destroyed. His bigoted attachment to his religion was shown in his conduct to an English merchant, accredited by a letter [l] from Queen Elizabeth. That great

[k] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] The letter of the queen was in Latin and English. Its contents were as follow:—

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this side and beyond the riuer of Tygris, and of all men and nations betweene the Caspian Sea and the Gulfe of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnesse of the Almightie God, it is ordeined, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of the lands, and the inuincible widenesse of the seas, but also the very quarters of the heauens do most farre separate and set asunder, may neuerthelesse, through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceiued thoughts or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutual intelligence. Therefore, whereas our faithfull and right beloued seruant, Anthonie Jenkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined, with our licence, fauour, and grace, to passe out of this our realme, and, by God's sufferance, to trauell euen into Persia, and other your iurisdictions: we minde truely with our good fauour, to set forward and aduance that his right laudable purpose; and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is onely grounded upon an honest intent to establish trade of merchandize with your subiects, and with other strangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherfore we haue thought good, both to write to your maiestie, and also to desire the same, to uouchsafe, at our request, to grant to our sayd seruant, Anthonie Jenkinson, good passports and safe conducts, by meanes and authoritie whereof it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, seruants, cariages, merchandise, and goods whatsoever, thorow your realmes, dominions, iurisdictions, and prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, go, passe, repasse, and tary so long as he shall please, and from

and active sovereign, desirous of extending the commerce of her kingdom, encouraged Mr. Anthony Jenkinson to visit the court of Persia. An English writer states that a pair of the king's slippers[m] were sent to the envoy, lest his Christian feet should pollute the sacred carpet of the holy monarch; and that after he came to the presence, the first inquiry Tâmâsp made was not regarding the object of the mission, but the belief of the ambassador, whether he was a Gaur, or unbeliever, or a Mahomedan? The Englishman replied, he was neither an unbeliever nor a Mahomedan, but a Christian; and added, that he held Christ to be the greatest of prophets. The monarch said, that he was in no need of the aid of infidels, and bade him depart. He did so; and a man followed him from the hall of audience till he was beyond the precincts of the court, sprinkling sand on the path he walked over; an action meant to mark the sense the Mahomedan prince had of the uncleanness of the person whom he had suffered to approach him.

Shah Tâmâsp left a large family. His fifth son, Hyder Meerza, was his favorite, and had been kept at court, while

thence to returne whensouer he or they shall thinke good. If these holy dueties of entertainment, and sweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely obserued, betweene us and our realmes and subiects, then we do hope that the Almightie God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and vse of our peoples: so it will be knowen that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue so much force to seperate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanity and mutual beneuolence haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your maiestie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord and God Jesus Christ 1561, and of our reigne the third."—HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 381.

[m] It is the usage in Persia at this day, and always has been, to eat and sleep on the same carpet on which they sit; they are therefore kept perfectly clean; and it is usual for every person to leave their shoes, slippers, or boots, at the threshold, and put on a pair of cloth slippers: these were probably what was sent to Mr. Jenkinson, whose religious feelings may have led him to mistake attention for insult.

the others were either confined or employed in distant governments. Hyder, taking advantage of this, seized the palace and treasures, and proclaimed himself king[n]. It was the usage for the Suffavean monarchs to commit their sons to the charge of powerful chiefs of tribes, in order to create divisions favorable to their own security. Their narrow policy, anxious only for the present, was careless about the future evils of this dangerous system. The chief of the Oostâjaloo, who had the charge of Hyder Meerza, was anxious for his elevation; but those of the tribes of Affshâr and Cherkus warmly espoused the interests of Ismail Meerza, the fourth son of Tâmâsp, who at his death was confined in the fort of Kàhke[o].

Hyder, if he had known how to use his advantages, from being on the spot and commanding the treasures of the kingdom, would have established himself on the throne; but he was duped by the favorite sultânâh[p] of the deceased monarch. This lady, the sister of Shâmkâl, chief of the Cherkus, had long been all-powerful in the interior of the palace; but the death of Tâmâsp placed her at the mercy of Hyder Meerza, who, from her conduct on a former occasion, when the king was very ill, ought to have been convinced that she was his enemy. Fearing this, she sought him the moment his father expired, and, throwing herself at his feet, hailed him sovereign of Persia. "Account me," she exclaimed, "your truest as I am your first slave!" Hyder, delighted at this act of ready submission, replied, "If you will but gain your brother, I am secure." "Let me seek him," she cried, "and be assured of success[q]." Orders were instantly given to permit her to depart. She

[n] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[o] This fort, which seems to have been used as a state prison, is believed by the Persian with whom I read the Aulam-aurah, to be the modern Sheshâh.

[p] Her name was Peri-Khân Khânum: she was alike celebrated for her beauty and ability.

[q] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

found her brother, with whom she concerted the means of destroying the prince by whom she had been so rashly trusted; and who, in consequence of her intrigues, was massacred before his friends could assemble.

Ismail was proclaimed king the moment his brother was slain; and messengers were sent to convey him from a prison to a throne. The short reign of this unworthy prince was marked by debauchery and crime. The rebellion of one of his cousins, Sultan Hussein Meerza, who held the government of Candahar, deterred him for some time from following the dictates of his cruel disposition. He feared, before the crown was fixed upon his brow, to commit acts which might alienate his subjects; but the instant he was released by the death[r] of Hussein from apprehension of a contest, he directed the massacre of all the princes of the blood royal at Kazveen, except Aly Meerza, whose life was spared, but even he was deprived of sight.

Mahomed Meerza[s], the eldest son of Tâmâsp, had never been considered a competitor for the throne, on account of a natural weakness in his eyes, which rendered him almost blind, and was supposed to incapacitate him for exercising the sovereign functions: but he had been employed during his father's life as Governor of Khorassan, and, when removed from that station, had been appointed to Shiraz, whither he had gone with his eldest son, Humzâ Meerza, leaving, by desire of Tâmâsp, another son named Abbas, then an infant at the breast, as nominal Governor of Khorassan, under the tutelage of Aly Kooli Khan[t], a nobleman of high rank[u]. Ismail did not think himself secure upon

[r] Sultan Hussein Meerza proclaimed himself king. He saw this measure was disagreeable to some of his chief officers, and therefore determined to poison them at a banquet; but the cup, through mistake or design, was first served to himself, and he died the victim of his own treachery.

[s] This prince is often called Khodâh-bundâh, or "the slave of God."

[t] Aly Kooli Khan was the chief of the tribe of Shamloo.

[u] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

the throne, until he had slain Mahomed Meerza and all his family. Orders to that effect were sent on the twelfth of Ramazan to Shiraz; and Aly Kooli was directed to put to death the young Abbas: a second order[x], of the most peremptory nature, commanded the instant execution of this infant; but the powerful chief was led by superstition to defer obeying the cruel mandate, till the sacred month of Ramazan had passed. This short respite preserved the life of a prince destined to become the glory of Persia; for a breathless messenger[y] from Kazveen reached Herat on the last day of that month, and announced to Aly Kooli the death of Ismail, who had expired on the thirteenth, the day after the order for the murder of Abbas was despatched Another express had been sent to Shiraz, and arrived within an hour of the time appointed for the execution of Mahomed Meerza and his other children.

The manner of Ismail's death marked his vile and debauched character still more than his life. Having drunk very freely, he went, as was his habit, disguised into the city. His companion was a confectioner; and they had rambled together till near morning, when the king retired to take some rest in one of the upper rooms of his friend's house. His servants, who were not unaccustomed to these excursions, heard in the morning where he was, and assembled at the confectioner's house; but the door of the chamber in which the king slept was locked inside, and no one dared to disturb him. They became alarmed at his not waking, and made their fears known to his sister; who immediately repaired to the spot, and directed the door to be taken off its hinges. When they entered the room, Ismail was found quite dead; and his companion, Hussein Beg, lying near him, almost senseless from intoxication[z]. This man was immediately roused; from his evidence it

[x] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.
[y] Mahomed Bejurloo, an agent of Aly Kooli Khan, was the messenger.
[z] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

appeared that the king had taken, in addition to the wine, a greater quantity than usual of opium; and some suspicions were excited from his declaring, that the small box in which the king kept his preparation[a] of this drug was brought to him open, whereas it was generally shut. The confectioner added that he had remarked this to Ismail, who replied, it was of no consequence, as a confidential female servant had opened it in his presence[b]. This circumstance gave rise to a belief that he had been poisoned; but the joy all felt in being released from so depraved a tyrant, prevented any further inquiry.

Mahomed Meerza was instantly proclaimed king. His first act was to put the chief of the Cherkus and his sister to death: which was not more necessary as a punishment for their crimes, than to secure himself against their hostility. Persia was invaded the year after he ascended the throne, by the Turks, the Usbegs, and the Tartars of Kapchack. None of them, however, made any serious impression; and the leader[c] of the latter, who had attacked Ghilan, was defeated, made prisoner, and afterwards murdered. This act of cruelty was revenged next year by a more successful irruption of the same tribe. The brother of the chief who had been slain, surprised Shirwan, and killed the governor and a great number of the inhabitants.

Sultan Mahomed Meerza, sensible of his own inefficiency, intrusted the whole charge of the empire to his vizier, Meerza Soliman; and he was confirmed in the confidence he bestowed on this nobleman, by the first successes of his reign. All his foreign enemies had been repelled; and two impostors who had arisen in different parts of his dominions, and personated the deceased monarch, Ismail, had been defeated, and put to death. We may judge, however, that

[a] The Persian name of the preparation is Filaoon. It is chiefly opium, and very intoxicating.

[b] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] His name was Adil Gherïâh; the name of his brother and successor was Mahomed.

the country was far from settled, when mendicant priests, assuming the name of so despicable a monarch, were able to collect numerous bodies of adherents, and to throw the whole kingdom into confusion[d]. But these insignificant pretenders had hardly been overcome, when a more serious event threatened the tranquillity of this monarch's reign. The nobles of Khorassan had advanced to Nishapore, and proclaimed his youngest son, Abbas, King of Persia. Fully sensible of the magnitude of this danger, he instantly marched to Khorassan. His first campaign was passed in an ineffectual effort to take Turbut. In the second, he undertook the siege of Herat, which was defended by Abbas and the nobles who supported him. During this siege, the Kûzel-bash chiefs with Mahomed's army made an attempt to assassinate Meerza Soliman. That minister fled to his sovereign for protection : but he was pursued by his powerful enemies, who, with the spirit of feudal arrogance, told their king, that it remained for him instantly to decide whether he would give up the minister to their vengeance, or see them add their forces to those of his son Abbas. The weak Mahomed chose disgrace rather than danger; and he abandoned Soliman, who was immediately put to death. The confusion which this event caused in the king's councils, forced him to retreat, and his after-life was a series of misfortunes.

One author[e] informs us, that the excesses in which this prince indulged, when at Tabreez, made Mahomed Khan, the chief of the Turkomans of the tribe of Tukûloo, remonstrate, in a very free tone, on the consequences of his intemperance. The king, stung with reproaches which he knew he had merited, sought the life of the person who had uttered them. Mahomed Khan at first fled, but soon returned to court, and presented himself before the offended monarch

[d] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.
[e] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

with a sword suspended from his neck [f]. It was not doubted, that so extraordinary a mark of humble penitence in a man of high birth and rank, whose only crime was an imprudent zeal, would have led to his restoration to favour; but the timid dare not forgive; and though Sultan Mahomed pretended to grant a pardon, and only ordered Mahomed Khan to be imprisoned, he subsequently put him to death [g]: and, by that cruel and ungenerous action, provoked the hostility of the tribe of Tukûloo.

These internal troubles encouraged the Emperor of Constantinople to invade Persia. Osman Pacha, a general of high reputation, was sent into that country with a large army, and took Tabreez; while the king was enjoying his summer residence in the cool valleys which border on the lofty mountain of Sahund [h]. He immediately collected all the troops he could, and advanced to Bâsmeitch, a small town near Tabreez; and commenced a war of skirmishes, with a view of keeping the enemy in check, till he could assemble sufficient numbers to venture a general action. Orders were despatched in every direction: but the chiefs, as they advanced to join the royal standard, communicated their grievances to each other, and agreed, that unless the king would remove some confidential ministers, whom they deemed unworthy favorites, they would not grant him their aid. The monarch was firm; or rather they who had complete power over his mind, would not consent to their own disgrace and ruin; and the consequence was, that besides the usurpation of Khorassan by Abbas, the invasion of Aderbijan, and the capture of Tabreez by the Turks, Mahomed saw himself involved in a civil war with those on whose support he had chiefly depended [i].

[f] This mode of begging clemency is the most humble, and is consequently deemed by proud and barbarous men the most disgraceful. It signifies, "I approach you as a criminal deserving death, and bring myself the weapon you may use."

[g] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[h] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[i] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

The death of Osman Pacha at this period occasioned the retreat of the Turkish army; but a strong garrison was left in Tabreez, and it was necessary to besiege it, at the same time that the insubordinate chiefs[k] were to be reduced. The válour of Humzâ Meerza, the eldest son of Mahomed, extricated his weak father from his difficulties. He compelled the rebel chieftains to submit; and on finding that he could not take Tabreez by assault, crossed the Araxes, and carried devastation into the Turkish provinces beyond it; which forced the Turks to consent to a peace. But this gleam of good fortune soon vanished. Humzâ Meerza fell under the blow of an assassin. He was stabbed by a dillâk[l], or barber, when in his private apartments; and the murderer effected his escape. This event was fatal to Sultan Mahomed Meerza. His fortunes had been for many years upheld by the character of his eldest son, and his power terminated at the death of that prince[m].

[k] They had taken a prince of the family of Suffee, called Támásp, out of prison, and proclaimed him king.

[l] The name of this person was Hoodee. He, no doubt, was only an instrument. The Universal History ascribes this murder to Ismail, the brother of Humzá Meerza: but the same authority informs us, that Humzá Meerza was upon the throne, and that Ismail succeeded him. I must reject these facts, which are given on the uncertain authority of European travellers, and follow the distinct and authentic account in the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh; the author of which, however, as the historian of the family, might pass over in silence the suspicions that fell on Abbas on this occasion, or rather on those in whose hands he was then a pageant. Father Anthony de Govvea, an Augustin friar, sent as envoy by Philip II. of Portugal to Persia, declares, that Abbas *told him* that his brother, Humzá Meerza, was murdered by the Mahomedans on account of his partiality to Christians.

[m] Sir Anthony Sherley, and all the European travellers who visited the Court of Persia a few years after this event, state, that the murder of Humzá Meerza took place after the death of his father, and that he was King of Persia when he was slain. It seems hardly possible that the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh, who was minister to Abbas the Second, could be mistaken in such a fact; and he could have no motive for omitting the name of this gallant prince in his list of Persian kings. The difference between oriental and European writers is only to be reconciled by supposing that, as Mahomed Khodah-bundah was for the few last years of his life, from blindness and weakness of character, incapable of rule, and had

We are informed by all the historians of Abbas, that before the death of Humzâ Meerza, repeated orders had been sent for that prince to repair to the court of his father: but though he always professed a disposition to obedience, the high nobles who governed Khorassan in his name refused to permit his departure[n]. A prince of the blood royal, they alleged, was absolutely necessary to preserve the tranquillity of the province, which, they asserted, would be exposed to imminent danger if he left it. Mahomed tried the expedient of appointing powerful nobles to relieve those who thus evaded his orders; but his officers returned without being able to establish themselves, and Khorassan may be considered an independent government during the whole of his reign. This state of affairs produced great confusion. Aly Kooli Khan and Murshud Kooli Khan, two powerful chiefs of Kûzel-bash tribes, had united their strength, on the plea of protecting Abbas, but with the real design of establishing their own power; for the young prince appears to have been a mere pageant in their hands. The union of these haughty and ambitious nobles could not be permanent. The friends soon became rivals; and an action ensued, in which Murshud Kooli Khan was victorious. The young prince, at the commencement of this engagement, was with Aly Kooli. His horse was shot during the heat of the battle; and he was in imminent danger of losing his life; but the victorious tribe of Oostâjaloo, as soon as they saw the representative of the sacred family of Suffee in distress, stopped the pursuit, and threw themselves at his feet; nor

resigned all power to his son, the latter was conceived by foreigners to be the actual sovereign. Sir Anthony Sherley, who mentions Humzâ Meerza being slain by a barber, informs us that, after his death, the succession of Abbas was opposed by a faction of ambitious chiefs.

Olearus, the author of the Ambassador's Travels, says that, Humzâ Meerza reigned eight months, and his brother and successor, Ismail, an equal period. Yet the same author, who thus makes a lapse of sixteen months between Mahomed Khodah-bundah and his son Abbas, states that the former died and the latter ascended the throne A.D. 1585.

[n] Zubd-al-Tuarikh.

did the pride of triumph prevent their leader from humbling himself before Abbas, with whom he immediately proceeded to Mushed[o].

It has already been stated that the chiefs of Khorassan had proclaimed Abbas king of Persia, and that Mahomed Khodah-bundah completely failed in his effort to re-establish his authority in that province[p]. The confusion which ensued at the death of Humzâ Meerza, led Murshud Kooli Khan to march with the prince direct to Kazveen, which he took possession of without opposition[q]. A great number of the inhabitants were soldiers in the royal army, and had accompanied Mahomed to Shiraz, where he had proceeded to suppress a rebellion. The troops of Abbas were directed to lodge themselves in the dwellings of the absentees; and a proclamation was issued, stating that the houses, families, and property of all persons who did not return to Kazveen within a limited period, should belong to the soldiers. Nothing could exceed the dismay produced by this measure; and the unfortunate Mahomed[r], to whom none were personally attached, was deserted by every inhabitant of Kazveen in his army.

The Usbegs invaded Khorassan immediately after Abbas left it. They besieged Herat, which, after a defence of nine months, fell into their hands. Its governor, Aly Kooli Khan, and several other chiefs of consequence, were put to death, and the city plundered. After this no opposition was made to their ravages, and all Khorassan was laid waste. Abbas, who had been embarrassed by the war with the Turks, hastened to conclude a treaty with the emperor of Constantinople, that he might march against the Usbegs.

[o] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[p] The author of the Aulum-aurah dates the elevation of Abbas in A.H. 996, two years later than the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[q] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[r] This monarch is never afterwards mentioned: he died, and owed, no doubt, the good fortune of a natural death to his complete inefficiency, and the universal contempt in which he was held.

But though he advanced as far as Mushed, his attention appears to have been more directed to establishing his own authority, than to attacking the enemies of his country. Murshud Kooli Khan, from the moment of his victory over Aly Kooli, had exercised all the functions of a sovereign. The mind of Abbas was not framed to be contented with the name of power. Impatient of his condition, he had recourse perhaps to the only remedy which he could adopt; and the death of Murshud Kooli, who was slain a few days after the army entered Khorassan[s], gave him the possession of an authority which he never afterwards suffered to pass into the hands of another.

Some events compelled the king to return to his capital, without an attempt to recover Herat; and he contented himself with leaving a garrison at Mushed, which was soon afterwards attacked by Abdûl Momeen Khan[t], the chief of the Usbegs. Abbas, the moment he heard of the danger which threatened this sacred city[u], marched to its relief; but he was taken violently ill, and confined for fifty days at Teheran; during which his enemies accomplished their object; Mushed was taken, and given over to the fury of a savage army, by whom almost all its inhabitants were put to the sword[x]. The news of this dreadful event, combined with the alarming state of the king's health, threw the whole kingdom into confusion; and Abbas was occupied for some time after his recovery in restoring internal tranquillity. An Ameer, of the name of Yacoob Khan, had usurped the government of Fars. Dreading the king's indignation, he shut himself up in the Hill-fort of Istakhr; but was taken, and put to death. After suppressing this rebellion, the

[s] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[t] This ruler was the son of Abdûllâ Khan.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

[u] The tomb of the eighth Imaum, Aly Rezâ, is in this city; which is therefore deemed sacred.

[x] The author of the Aulum-aurah states that Mushed was sacked A.H. 998.

monarch returned to Kazveen by the circuitous route of Yezd [y].

The Turkish troops now began to collect on the frontier; and Shah Abbas, in order to watch their movements, had encamped on the banks of the Kur, or Cyrus [z], which flows through Teflis, the capital of Georgia. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, an event occurred which marked the character of this prince. As he was one day standing near the river with two or three of his favorite generals, some Turkish officers invited them to cross, and partake of their hospitality. The king went, was well entertained, and gave in his turn an invitation to his new friends, which they readily accepted. "We will attend you with pleasure," said one of the Turks, "as we expect you will contrive to obtain us a glance at your young monarch, whose fame is already far beyond his years, and who promises to attain great glory." Abbas smiled, and said he would do his utmost to gratify their wishes. When they arrived on the opposite bank, the behaviour of the Persians soon convinced them that their guest was the monarch they so much desired to see. Abbas enjoyed their surprise; repaid their hospitality by the most sumptuous entertainment, and sent them back loaded with presents to their own lines [a]. The activity which he displayed in this campaign, and his reduction of the province of Ghilan, the chief of which was attached [b] to the Turkish interest, prevented that

[y] The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh states, that the king directed his chief astronomer, Moollah Jellâl, to make an exact calculation of the time in which he rode from Shiraz to Yezd. The distance is eighty-nine fursukhs, or three hundred and three miles, three furlongs, and sixty yards, computing the fursukh at six thousand yards. The king, according to this author, performed the journey in twenty-eight hours and thirty-nine minutes.

[z] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[a] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[b] Abbas was so provoked by the repeated rebellions of this insubordinate province, that in A. H. 1002, he ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants.

minated in the complete defeat of these invaders. Their prince, several of their bravest leaders, and great numbers of their best troops, were slain; while the remainder only saved themselves from the same fate by a rapid flight across the Oxus. Ferhâd Khan, the favorite general of Abbas, is said to have behaved ill in this battle; and all his former services could not preserve him from the rage of his severe master, who put him to death, as an example[g] to others. We are informed by Sir Anthony Sherley[h], who was at the court of Abbas two years after this event, that this nobleman designed to sacrifice his monarch, and left Abbas, who was with a small part of his army in advance, to be overpowered: but that the loyalty and valour of the principal leaders under his command defeated his intentions. In disobedience to their general, they rushed to support their prince, to whom they brought at once relief and victory: and the principal of these chiefs, Aly-verdi Beg, was promoted to the high office that had been long enjoyed by Ferhâd Khan.

This great victory gave Khorassan a long respite from the inroads with which it had been annually afflicted; and that province, according to Persian historians, was at once honoured and defended by the frequent visits of Abbas, whose increasing devotion was shown in constant pilgrimages[i] to the tomb of the Imaum Aly Rezâ, at Mushed. While the presence of the king gave prosperity and security to Khorassan, and enabled him to extend his territories in that direction as far as Bulkh, his generals were employed in reducing the islands of the Gulf of Persia, of which Bahrein, on account of its magnitude and vicinity to the

[g] We are told by some Mahomedan historians, that the monarch had other motives for this severity; that Ferhâd Khan met with the usual lot of favorites; and fell from presuming too much on the favour of Abbas.

[h] See his Travels, pp. 60, 61.

[i] The king, as a mark of his devotion, walked on one occasion with all his officers from Isfahan to Mushed; and the chief astronomer measured the distance with a string fifty yards long. It was found to be one hundred and ninety-nine fursukhs eighty-one strings and a half.

pearl banks on the coast of Arabia, was deemed the most valuable conquest[k]. The whole mountain province of Lâr, stretching from near Shiraz to the seaport of Gombroon, was also subdued; and the vanity of Abbas was flattered by his general, Aly-verdi Khan, sending among the captives Ibrahim Khan, the chief of that province, who boasted a direct descent from Goorgeen Meelâd[l], one of the compa-

[k] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] We read in the Aulum-aurah the following account of this family:—

"In the Tuarikh Mubsoottah it is written, that Goorgeen Meelâd, who was one of the Pehlwans (or Heros) of the court of Kai Khoosroo (or Cyrus,) was the ruler of Lâr; and that province has remained with his descendants. In the time of the Mulook-u-Tuaif, (the Arsacidæ) they not only plundered other provinces, but added to their possessions. Before the religion of Mahomed, and for some time afterwards, they recognised the authority of the kings of Persia, particularly during the dynasty of the Akâserâh, (the name of the race of Nousheerwan;) but afterwards they became more independent. The first of the descendants of Goorgeen Meelâd that embraced the faith was Irij, who took the name of Julâludeen; he was ruler of Lâr in the time of Omar Abdûl-Azeez, one of the last caliphs of the Benee Omâee dynasty. From the commencement of the Suffavean dynasty till the present period, (Shah Abbas the Great's reign,) they had been obedient, and held the office of Ameer-Dewânee. Noor-a-Dâhir Khan, the son of Abousheerwâan, commonly called Shah Adil, at the commencement of the reign of Shah Ismail, was the Wâly of Lâr. Noor-a-Dâhir died in the reign of Sultan Mahomed Khodah-bundah: he was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Khan, who, when Shah Abbas marched to Shiraz to punish Yacoob Khan, neglected to join and congratulate him as he passed near Lâr. The king, enraged at this neglect, and at his repeated false excuses for non-attendance, ordered Aly-verdi Khan, ruler of Fars, to march into Lâr. Ibrahim Khan was unable to meet Aly-verdi in the field, and retired into the Fort of Lâr: he was, however, soon obliged to surrender himself and all his property to the leader of the royal army. Among his property was found a crown ornamented with rich jewels, such as rubies and pearls; it was called the Tâj Kai Khoosroo, or 'the crown of Kai Khoosroo,' and had descended regularly from Lâr, the son of Goorgeen Meelâd, to Ibrahim Khan, all of whose ancestors had worn it as a diadem propitious to their rule. The city of Lâr had formerly another name. It is said, that when Goorgeen died, he left a son called Lâr, who was nominated to succeed him, and the city was called after him; and Kai Khoosroo invested him with the crown that has been described, which had remained in the family ever since: and it is also related, that when Goorgeen Meelâd was appointed ruler of Lâr, he remained encamped on the outside of that city seven years, waiting for a fortunate hour to make his entry. This the astrologers, at the expiration of that

nions of Roostum; and who, we are informed, had in his possession a crown that once belonged to Kai Khoosroo [m].

Abbas was encouraged by these successes to a greater effort. He had been compelled by the situation of his kingdom to preserve peace with the Emperor of Constantinople; but he could hardly deem himself the monarch of Persia, while that sovereign held the fort of Nahavund in one quarter of his dominions, and Tabreez and Teflis, with almost the whole of Aderbijan and Georgia, in another. The misfortunes of his great ancestor, Ismail, and the almost uniform success of the Turks in their wars with the Persians, made him proceed with great caution; and our opinion of his character is greatly raised, by considering the means he collected, and the measures he adopted, to deliver the finest provinces of his country from so powerful an enemy.

The most extraordinary events are often traced to accidental causes; but we should not hastily detract from the claims which genius always has upon fortune. The faculty possessed by superior minds of rendering occurrences deemed trivial by other men subservient to great designs, may be compared to the power of the telescope giving magnitude to objects that have altogether escaped the unaided vision. It was at this period of his reign that two English gentlemen, of good family and military reputation, sought the court of Abbas. They were brothers; and the eldest, Sir Anthony Sherley, gives us an account of the reasons which led him to travel into Persia. He had been encouraged by the Earl of Essex to proceed with some soldiers of approved valour to aid the Duke of Ferrara against the pretensions of the Pope [n]. The struggle was decided by the submission of

time, discovered, and he went into the town; and from that date, which is near four thousand years, his family have retained their rule as chiefs, though they have usually paid tribute to the monarchs of Persia."

[m] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[n] Sir Anthony Sherley's Travels, p. 4.

the duke before the English knight reached the scene of action; but the noble patron, unwilling that one whom he had selected for such an enterprise should return, after a waste of "time, money, and hope[o]," without effecting any purpose, proposed to Sir Anthony to proceed to Persia; a country, which, from the commerce it carried on by land with the territories of Turkey and Russia, and by sea with the Portuguese and Dutch, had become an object of some attention to the English nation. Sir Anthony's companions were his brother, Sir Robert Sherley, and twenty-six followers, "gallantly mounted and richly furnished[p]." Among the latter were men of some science: one is particularly mentioned as being skilled in the art of casting cannon. Sir Anthony Sherley neither had, nor assumed, any right to the character of a public representative. He reached Kazveen when Abbas was in Khorassan; and when the monarch returned after his victory over the Usbegs, he presented himself as an English soldier of fortune, who, hearing of the great fame of Abbas, desired the honour of entering his service. He at the same time propitiated a good reception by a handsome present[q]. The Persian monarch, pleased and flattered by the occurrence, honoured the English knight by a distinguished reception, gave him splendid presents[r], and promised him every encouragement.

Aly-verdi Beg, who had been raised to the command of

[o] Sir Anthony Sherley's Travels, p. 5.

[p] Purchas's Pilgrims.

[q] This present consisted "of six pair of pendants of exceeding fair emeralds; two other jewels of topazes; a cup of three pieces set in gold, and enamelled; a salt, a fair ewer of crystal, covered with a kind of cut work of silver, and gilt, the shape of a dragon."—Sir Anthony Sherley's *Travels*, p. 65.

[r] The present given by the king was "one thousand tomâns, forty horses, all furnished, two with exceeding rich saddles, plated with gold, and set with rubies and turquoises; the rest either plated with silver, or velvet embroidered and gilt; sixteen mules and twelve camels laden with tents and furniture for his house and voyage."—Sir Anthony Sherley's *Travels*, p. 72.

the army, became the declared friend and supporter of the European favorite; and all his influence was exerted to repel the attacks made on him by those ministers who were adverse to hostilities with Turkey, and who represented the advice of Sir Anthony Sherley as proceeding from the treacherous designs of a secret agent of a Christian court, wishing to promote its own interests by embroiling true believers in war. But Sir Anthony did not advise the monarch to engage in a contest, without pointing out the means of rendering it successful. He offered himself as the instrument for establishing an alliance between Abbas and the monarchs of Christendom; of whom Rodolph the Second, sovereign of Germany, was at that period engaged in a war with the emperor of Constantinople. His sincerity was proved by his leaving his brother, Sir Robert, at the Persian court, and by the pains he took to instruct the Persians in the science of war. The new corps of infantry raised by Abbas to make himself independent of his turbulent chiefs, and to oppose the Turkish janissaries, probably owed their discipline[a] to the counsel and aid of the two Sherleys and their military followers. We are told, indeed, that they not only formed this force, but taught the Persians the use of artillery.

The credentials[b] which Abbas gave to Sir Anthony Sher-

[a] The following passage from a memorial of the Travels of Sir Robert Sherley, written by a contemporary, appears to prove this fact:—

"The mightie Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherly feuer, and gives hopes of approaching fates: the prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war; and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, hath now five hundred pieces of brasse, and sixty thousand musketiers: so that they, which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turkes, now also, in remoter blowes and sulfurian arts, are growne terrible."—Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1806.

[b] The following is an English translation of this document:—

"There is come unto me, in this good time, a principall gentleman, (Sir Anthony Shierlie,) of his owne free will, out of Europe, into thiese parts: and al you princes y beleeue in Jesus Christ, know you, that he hath made friendship betweene you and me; which desire we had also heretofore granted, but there was none that came to make the way, and to remoue

ley, are perhaps the most singular by which any public representative was ever accredited. They were addressed to the Christian Sovereigns of Europe; and the Mahomedan monarch called upon all the princes who believed in Jesus to embrace his friendship. He described Sir Anthony (whom he always styled Meerza Antonio) as a gentleman, who had of his free will visited Persia; "and since he has been with me," said Abbas, "we have daily eaten out of one dish, and drunk of one cup, like two brothers." At the same time that he furnished him with these credentials, he granted many privileges to those Christian merchants who might choose to trade with Persia. The firman, or grant[u], gave the fullest security to all such, both as to the

the uaile that was betwene us and you, but onely this gentleman; who as he came of his owne free will, so also oppon his desire, I haue sent with him a chiefe man of mine. The entertainement which that principall gentleman hath had with me, is, that daylie, whils't he hath bin in thiese partes, we haue eaten togither of one dysh, and drunke of one cup, like two breethren.

"Therefore, when this gentleman comes unto you Christian princes, you shall credite him in whatsoeuer he shall demaunde, or he shall say, as mine owne person: and when this gentleman shall haue passed the sea, and is entred into the countrey of the great King of Muscouie, (with whom we are in friendshippe as breethren,) all his gouernuors, both great and small, shall accompany him, and use him with all favour, unto Mosco: and because there is great loue betwene you, the King of Mosco, and mee, that wee are like two breethren, I haue sent this gentleman through your cuntrey, and desire you to fauour his passage, without any hindrance."—*Report of* Sir Anthony Sherley's *Journey*. London Edition, 1600.

[u] Copy of an English translation of the Grant obtained by Sir Anthony Sherley from Shah Abbas, for all Christians to trade and traffic in Persia:—

"Our absolute commaundement, will, and pleasure, is, that our cuntries and dominions shall be, from this day, open to all Christian people, and to their religion: and in such sort, that none of ours, of any condition, shall presume to giue them any euil word. And, because of the amitie now ioyned with the princes that professe Christ, I do giue this pattent for all Christian marchants, to repaire and trafique, in and through our dominions, without disturbances or molestations of any duke, prince, gouernour, or captaine, or any, of whatsoeuer office or qualitie, of ours; but that all merchandize that they shall bring, shall be so priviledged, that none, of any dignitie or authoritie, shall haue power to looke unto it: neyther to make inquisition after, or stay, for any use or person, the ualue of one asper. Neyther shall our religious men, of whatsoeuer sort they be, dare disturbe

was then commanded to cover as large a space of ground as he possibly could with his numbers, and make a false attack upon them. The clouds of dust raised by this body were no sooner observed by the Turks, who were advancing against the main army of the Persians, than their general conceived it was the principal attack, and that it was directed against the camp, which had been left almost unguarded. A great portion of the column in front was immediately detached to repel it. Regular armies alone can manœuvre with safety during the heat of battle. In those which have no discipline, every movement, particularly one to the rear, is certain of producing confusion, and that soon becomes irremediable. The force which the Turkish general had detached was supposed, by almost all their own army, and that of the Persians, to have fled[e]. Abbas seized the moment of these impressions for a general charge; and his troops, already confident of success, gained an easy victory[f] over men dismayed by the supposed desertion of their comrades. The leaders of the Turkish army did all that personal valour could to recover the day, and the numbers of officers of high rank that were slain or taken prisoners[g] prove the great efforts which they made: but all was in vain; the overthrow was complete, and the Turks fled in every direction, leaving the field in the possession of the Persians[h].

The action was hardly over before sunset, and the pursuit continued for many hours. An event occurred after this victory, alike characteristic of the times, and of the hero by whom it was gained. As Shah Abbas sat on the field of battle, carousing with his chief officers and some of the principal captives, a man of uncommon stature and soldier-like appearance was led past by a youth, who had

[e] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[f] Sir Robert Sherley attended the Persian monarch in this action, and received three wounds.—PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1806.

[g] Five pâchâs were taken, and the same number were slain.

[h] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. Anthoine de Govvea.

just made him prisoner. The king demanded who he was. "I belong to the Kurd family of Mookree," said the captive. The king happened to have an officer of the house of Mookree in his service, of the name of Roostum Beg, who he knew had a blood feud with the family of the prisoner. "Deliver that captive to Roostum Beg," said the king; but that chief refused to receive him. "I hope your majesty will pardon me," he said; "my honour, it is true, calls for his blood, but I have made a vow never to take advantage of an enemy who is bound, and in distress[i]." This noble and generous speech seemed to reflect upon the king, who, in his irritation, called to the captain of the guards to strike off the head of the prisoner. The gigantic Kurd, the moment he heard this command, broke the cords with which he was fettered, drew his dagger, and darted upon Abbas. A struggle ensued; and, in the general hurry of all to aid their sovereign, every light was extinguished, and no one dared to strike in the dark, lest he should pierce the monarch instead of his enemy[k]. After a moment of inexpressible horror, all were relieved by hearing the king twice exclaim, "I have seized his hand! I have seized his hand!" Order was restored, and lights brought. The brave captive was slain by a hundred swords; and Abbas, who had wrested the dagger from his hand, reseated himself in the assembly, and continued (according to his historian[l]) "to drink goblets of pure wine, and to receive the heads[m] of his enemies, till twelve o'clock at night."

In the interval between this great victory and his death, Shah Abbas not only kept the Turks in complete check, but recovered all the territories which they had before taken

[i] Ajiz ou dust bustā. *Distressed and hand-bound* are the terms in the original.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

[k] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[l] Anthoine de Govvea, p. 301.

[m] It has always been the custom of the Kings of Persia to receive the heads of their enemies, and is so at this moment. We are told by Anthoine de Govvea, that those brought to the king on this occasion amounted to twenty thousand five hundred and forty-five.—P. 300.

from Persia. They were successively driven from their possessions along the shores of the Caspian, from Aderbijan, Georgia, Kurdistan, Bagdad, Moossul, and Diarbekir, all of which were reannexed to the Persian empire. The Turks made several efforts to preserve their conquests, and, on one occasion, entered into a league with the Tartars of Kapchack: but their united forces received a complete defeat [n] from the Persian general, Kârâchee Khan; and this action, which was fought near Shiblee [o], a small caravansary between Sultaneah and Tabreez, was the last of any consequence which occurred in the reign of Abbas.

The courts of Isfahan and Constantinople continued, during the whole of this reign, to carry on amicable negotiations; but although peace was often proclaimed, it never prevented hostilities when the slightest prospect of advantage invited an attack. The usual mode was to encourage the pâchâs, or governors of the frontier provinces, to commence aggressions; and the Emperor of Turkey or King of Persia either disclaimed or supported these acts as policy dictated: the fact was, that the ambition of both sovereigns was inflamed and seconded by the bigotry of their subjects, who desired war, to vent the feelings of hatred inspired by their opposite belief. The Sheah historians of this period dwell with satisfaction on the most cruel acts, when a Soonee is the sufferer; and hardly ever relate the death of a Turkish leader without devoting his soul to hell, as the fit mansion for all such heretics. The recovery of Bagdad, of Nujuff, Kerbelah, Câzmeen, and Sâmrâh, were more gratifying to the Persians than all the other conquests

[n] The Pâchâs of Van and Erzeroom were slain in this action. The Turkish general, Huleel Pâchâ, in a letter to Sir Paul Pinder, ambassador from the King of England at Constantinople, claims a victory over Kârâchee Khan, whom he describes as abandoning Tabreez to be sacked by the Turkish army (Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1613). He admits, however, that in the subsequent action at Shiblee, some of his army fell; which, in such a document, is acknowledging a defeat.

[o] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

of Abbas. At these sacred places are interred the remains of Aly, and of several among his immediate descendants.

Shah Abbas used all means to increase that religious respect with which he was regarded by his subjects; and when we consider the enthusiasm of the age, his claims as inheriting the mantle of the saints of Ardebil, and the impression made by his victories over the heretic Turks, we are not surprised that he should have been almost adored: but, if we are to believe Persian writers, veneration for the holy character of the king was not confined to animated nature; it was imparted to things the least susceptible of such impressions. We are gravely told, that on Abbas entering his kitchen at Ardebil, the lid of one of the pots which he approached raised itself twice, four inches each time, as if in respect to his royal person; and this wonder or miracle was attested not only by all the cooks, but by several officers of the court, who were in attendance on the king when it occurred [p].

The superstition of the age was greatly alarmed during the reign of Abbas, by the appearance of a comet [q], which the astronomers declared portended war to many nations, but not to Persia. That kingdom however, they foretold, would be exposed to some lesser evils; and the ravages of the plague, an earthquake in Khorassan, and all the deaths and massacres within the next two or three years, were ascribed to this baneful influence.

The Usbegs, during the latter years of the reign of Shah

[p] This miracle took place in the year of the Hejirah 1019. The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh states it as a fact not doubted.

[q] This comet is mentioned both by the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh and of the Aulum-aurah. It appeared, according to the latter, in the year of the Hejirah 1027; and when first seen, was curved like a scimetar. It rose in the east, and its tail was to the south. Some days after its first appearance, another star, flaming like fire, was seen in the east, which took a northerly direction. This was called a comet (Zouzwābā): for a period between a month and forty days it appeared very bright; after that it became dimmer daily till it vanished.

Abbas, were kept in complete check[r]; and the north-eastern frontier of Persia enjoyed a tranquillity beyond what it had known for many centuries. With the Emperor of India Shah Abbas maintained a constant amicable intercourse and good understanding, which was only interrupted by his taking the fort of Candahar; and even that conquest does not appear to have caused any serious hostilities. The Emperor Jehângheer was too much occupied in maintaining his throne, to venture on a war with a powerful sovereign for a distant province.

Independently of his alliance with the Emperor of Delhi, Abbas maintained a friendly communication with the subjects of the different European states, who had formed settlements in India, and who all expressed an anxious desire to improve their connexion with Persia the moment they saw that kingdom settled and prosperous. The English, the French, and the Dutch, had established factories at Gombroon, and, in the spirit of commercial rivalry, endeavoured by every secret intrigue to injure each other. These factories were protected by Abbas, who was not insensible to the benefit his country derived from trade; but he viewed with very opposite feelings the settlements of the Portuguese on the shores of his empire. That nation, under the great Alphonso de Albuquerque, had conquered all the islands of the Gulf; but Portugal no longer held a high rank among the states of Europe, and her distant possessions were rapidly declining. Of the numerous settlements made by Albuquerque on the coast of Persia, Ormus, which was the first, was almost the only one that remained. This island lies at the entrance of the Gulf, and is only a few leagues distant from Gombroon. It has neither vegetation nor fresh water. Its circumference is not twenty miles; both its hills and plains are formed of salt, which impregnates the streams, and crusts over them like frozen snow. The nature of the soil, or rather surface of the earth, ren-

[r] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

ders the heat of summer more intolerable at Ormus, than in any of the parched islands or provinces around it; and unless we consider the advantages of its excellent harbour and local situation, it appears to be one of the last spots on the globe which human beings would desire to inhabit. The first settlers on this island were some Arabs, compelled by the Tartar invaders of Persia to leave the continent. They gave it the name of Hormuz, or Ormus, being that of the district they had been obliged to abandon. An old fisherman, whose name was Geroon, is said to have been its sole inhabitant when this colony arrived. They remained masters of Ormus till conquered by Albuquerque; and it had been in the possession of the Portuguese for more than a century. It had become during that period the emporium of all the commerce of the Gulf: merchants from every quarter of the globe had flocked to a city * where their property and persons were secure against injustice and oppression, and whence they could carry on a profitable commerce with Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, without being exposed to the dangers of a residence in those barbarous and unsettled countries.

Abbas saw with envy the prosperity of Ormus: he could not understand the source from which it was derived, and looked to the conquest of the island as an event that would add both to the glory and the wealth of his kingdom. Imam Koulee Khan, Governor of Fars, received orders to undertake this great enterprise; but the king was well aware that it would be impossible to succeed without the aid of a naval equipment. The English were ready auxiliaries. An agreement, which exempted them from paying customs on the merchandise they imported at Gombroon, and gave them a share of the duties taken from others, added to boundless promises of future favour, were the bribes by

* This city was at one time very large: little is now left, except the ruins of the numerous reservoirs, constructed to preserve the rain that fell in the periodical season, for the use of the inhabitants.

which the agents of the East India Company were induced to become the instruments of destroying this noble settlement. A fleet was soon collected. Persian troops were embarked, and the attack made. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely; but, worn down by hunger and fatigue, and hopeless of succour, they were compelled to surrender. The city was given over to the Persians, by whom it was soon stripped of all that was valuable, and left to a natural decay. Abbas was overjoyed at the conquest; but all the magnificent plans he had formed from having a great seaport in his dominions, terminated in his giving his own name to Gombroon, which he commanded to be in future called Bunder Abbas, or the Port of Abbas[t].

The hopes which the servants of the East India Company had cherished, from the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormus and their other possessions, were completely disappointed. The treaty which Abbas had entered into to obtain their aid, whereby it was stipulated that all plunder should be equally divided, that each should appoint a governor, and that the future customs of Ormus and Gombroon[u] should be equally shared, was disregarded

[t] The English had, it is true, revenged themselves on an enemy they hated, destroyed a flourishing settlement, and brought ruin and misery upon thousands, to gratify the avarice and ambition of a despot, on his promising to enrich them by a favour, which they should have known was not likely to protect them, even during his life, from the violence and injustice of his officers, much less during that of his successors. The history of the English factory at Gombroon, from this date until it was finally abandoned, is one series of disgrace, of losses, and of dangers, as that of every such establishment in a country like Persia must be. Had that nation either taken Ormus for itself, or made a settlement on a more eligible island in the Gulf, it would have carried on its commerce to much greater advantage; and its political influence, both in Persia and Arabia, would have remained unrivalled.

[u] By the treaty between Abbas and the agents of the Company, all Mahomedans made captive were to be given up to the King of Persia, and all Christians to the English. Mr. Monnox, when he reports the fall of the island, boasts of his humanity to the prisoners; but adds, "I must trust to Heaven for my reward, for the Portuguese are but slenderly thankful."

from the moment the conquest was completed. The sanguine anticipations of one of their chief agents, who wrote[x] to England "that their dear infant" (meaning the commercial factory at Gombroon,) "would receive new life if the king but kept his word," soon vanished; and we find the same person, after the fall of Ormus, stating[y], that no benefit whatever can be expected from that possession, unless held exclusively by the English. But every expectation of advantage was soon dispelled by the positive refusal of Abbas to allow the English to fortify Ormus, or any other harbour in the Gulf.

The government of the Company in India appear, about this time, to have been seriously alarmed at the intrigues of Sir Robert Sherley; who was left by his brother at the court of Abbas, and had continued the medium through which that monarch cultivated the friendship of the nations of Europe. Spain was then a state of great importance, and Abbas proposed to depute the English knight as his ambassador to the sovereign of that country, to whom it was believed he meant to offer the exclusive trade in silk[z]. The expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormus made a change in this policy; and two years after that event, Sir Robert Sherley appeared in England, as an envoy from Abbas to James the First. Nothing could be more exaggerated than the impressions he desired to convey to the British court, of the wealth and resources of Persia; and their fallacy was very fully exposed by the Directors of

[x] Letter from Mr. Edward Monnox to the Company, dated Isfahan, 1621.

[y] Letter from Mr. Monnox, 1622.

[z] There must have been serious foundation for this belief. Sir Thomas Roe, in a letter dated Moghul's Court, Ajmere, 10th September, 1616, states, that no good can be derived from Persia till the result of Sir Robert Sherley's embassy is known; and expresses a wish, that Sir Rober Sherley, who is at Goa, should fall into the hands of our shipping, which he strongly advises should make an attack upon the Portuguese vessels in that harbour. Sir Thomas states, that one such attack will do the Company's affairs more good than a dozen defences; and adds, that he has written to the Sooffee of Persia, advising him not to inthrall himself with Spain.

the East India Company; but the king's government were nevertheless flattered by the prospect of gain presented to them; and Sir Robert Sherley had the art to connect the settlement of his own private concerns with the objects of national advantage. A gentleman of family and rank, Sir Dodmore Cotton, was named ambassador to Abbas, and instructed to proceed to Persia, accompanied by Sir Robert Sherley and a numerous suite. This ambassador had his first public audience at the city of Ashraff, in Mazenderan. The pride of the King of Persia could not but be gratified by so splendid a mission; and the forms and ceremonies with which it was received, are characteristic of the style and manners of the Court of Abbas[a].

Sir Dodmore Cotton and the gentlemen with him were seated, for a short time before they were presented, in an antechamber; but instead of coffee, the common entertainment on such occasions, they found a sumptuous dinner served in dishes of gold, with abundance of wine poured into golden goblets from massy flaggons, also of gold. From this chamber they were carried through two other apartments, richly ornamented, and filled with golden vessels, adorned with rich jewels, which contained rose-water, flowers, and wine. After passing through these apartments, they entered the hall of state, round the walls of which the chief officers of the empire were seated like so many statues; for not a muscle moved, and all was dead silence[b]. Beautiful boys, with spangled turbans and embroidered dresses, held in their hands golden goblets of wine, and proffered it to all who desired it. Abbas was clothed in a plain dress of red cloth. He wore no finery about his person; his sabre alone had a gold hilt. Those high nobles who sat nearest him were also plainly attired;

[a] Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels.

[b] Sir Thomas Herbert, the learned historian of this mission, who attended Sir Dodmore Cotton, admirably describes this row of public officers, whom he calls "tacite meerzaes, chawns, sultans, and beglerbegs."—Page 184.

and it was evident that the king, surrounded as he was with wealth and grandeur, affected simplicity: but perhaps his pretensions as a religious character required this public display of his contempt[c] for the vanities and riches of the world.

The ambassador explained through his interpreter[d] the objects of his mission: to enter into a league with Persia against the Turks; to obtain satisfaction for Sir Robert Sherley, an English gentleman, who had been in the service of Shah Abbas, but had been injured and defrauded by a Persian nobleman[e] lately deceased; and to increase the trade between the two kingdoms. The answer of the king was most gracious. He expressed his contempt of the Turks; his resolution to make the sons of the deceased noble do justice to Sir Robert Sherley; and he offered to receive annually English broad cloth in exchange for ten thousand bales of silk, to be delivered by his officers to the English agents at Gombroon. Abbas was much amused with Sir Dodmore Cotton's inability to comply with the custom of sitting cross-legged; but being desirous of pleasing his guest, he called for a goblet of wine, and drank to the health of the King of England. At the name of his sovereign the ambassador stood up, and took his hat off. Abbas smiled, and raised his own turban from his head, as a token that he shared in his respect for the sovereign of England. This pleasant and honourable reception raised great expectations; but they ended in complete disappointment. The subsequent communications of the ambassador were through the minister Mahomed Aly Beg, who was attached to the enemies of Sir Robert Sherley, and therefore decidedly hostile to the English mission. Sir Robert Sherley and Sir Dodmore Cotton died in a few months

[c] It has been said, that from the day on which Suffee Meerza was slain, he always wore plain clothes.

[d] The name of the linguist of the mission was Dick Williams.—Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels*, p. 185.

[e] The name of this nobleman was Nukud Aly Beg.

after their arrival at court, and their attendants returned to England. The respectable historian of this embassy[f], who ascribes its failure to the intrigues of the favorite[g] of Abbas, cannot speak with temper of that minister, whom he styles, in the spirit and language of the times, "a most pragmatical pagan."

Though Shah Abbas, toward his enemies and those of his subjects[h] who rebelled, was cruel and severe, he appears, in almost all instances unconnected with his own family, to have acted more from policy than passion. His desire was to establish general tranquillity, which he knew in a despotic government must be founded on terror, and a complete submission to the monarch. He perfectly succeeded in accomplishing this object; and the long peace which Persia afterwards enjoyed, is to be chiefly ascribed to the wisdom of his measures. He studied beyond all former sovereigns the general welfare and improvement of his kingdom. He fixed on Isfahan as the capital of his dominions, and its population was more than doubled during his reign. Its principal mosque, the noble palace of Chehel-Setoon, the beautiful avenues and palaces called the Châr Bâgh or "four gardens," the principal bridge over the River Zainderood, and several of the finest palaces in the city and suburbs, were all built by this prince[i]. Mushed was greatly

[f] The Travels of Sir Thomas Herbert are extremely curious. He generally gives a very just account of the manners and character of the Persians; but he writes with no tolerant spirit, and his very jests are tinctured by his religious feelings. In his account of a Mahomedan saint, whom he calls "Emeer-Ally-Zedday-Ameer," he terms him "a long-named, long-boned, (judging from the dimensions of his grave,) and long since rotten prophet." And speaking of one of the ministers, to whom he took a similar objection for his long name, he exclaims, "If God does not damn the fellow for all his vile heresies, he will assuredly do it for his long name, which always puzzled my lord ambassador."

[g] His name was Mahomed Aly Beg.

[h] He punished a rebellion of the inhabitants of Isfahan very severely; and after the fashion of Timour, erected a pyramid of their heads.—Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels*.

[i] Chardin gives a minute account of the mosques and palaces which he

ornamented by him; and the cities of Ashraff and Farrahabad in Mazenderan were adorned with several royal mansions. But these were his meanest works. He carried at an immense expense a causeway[k] across the whole of Mazenderan; and rendered that difficult country passable for armies and travellers at all seasons. He threw bridges over almost all the rivers in Persia; and the traveller met in every direction the most solid and spacious caravansaries, erected by the munificence of this monarch.

Abbas has been accused, and with justice, of acting with great cruelty toward the princes[l] and the inhabitants of Georgia. His conduct was very different to a number of Armenian families whom he took in the course of his wars with the Turks. Instead of making them slaves, and compelling them to change their belief, as his predecessors had done in similar cases, he sought to give his native country the benefit of their knowledge and industry. For this purpose he settled them in different parts of the kingdom, and not only gave them liberty to build churches and exercise the duties of their religion, but granted them many other

built, and of the great improvements he made in this city, which in his reign first became the capital. He increased the stream of the River Zaindeerood, which flows through it, by bringing another stream to join it. He revived an attempt made by his predecessor Támásp, to bring the Karoon into it; but in this, after great efforts, he failed.

[k] "The causeway of Mazenderan is in length about three hundred miles, and it runs from Kiskár, in the south-west of the Caspian, several leagues beyond Asterabad in the south-east. The pavement is now nearly in the same condition as it was in the time of Hanway; being perfect in many places, although it has hardly ever been repaired. In some parts it is hardly above twenty yards wide in the middle, with ditches on each side; and there are many bridges upon it, under which the water is conveyed to the rice-fields."—Kinneir's *Memoir*, p. 166.

[l] His conduct to the Prince of Georgia and his family, as detailed by Chardin (vol. ii. p. 52), presents a disgusting mixture of the lowest political intrigue with sensual passion, religious persecution, and tyrannical cruelty; but as this tale perpetually recurs in the history of the disputes between the monarchs of Persia and their dependants, the Walys, or princes of Georgia, we must refer it as much to the abject and depraved habits of the former, as to the injustice and violence of the latter.

important privileges, and personally afforded them the most liberal protection and encouragement. The principal of these colonies was Julfâ, a suburb of Isfahan, which he built to receive the inhabitants of a town of the same name in Armenia. It flourished in a degree far exceeding expectation; and Abbas lived to see his wise policy rewarded by the happiness and gratitude of its inhabitants, who, devoted to commerce and far more industrious than the Persians, enriched themselves[m], while, by their great trade with India and other quarters, they promoted the general prosperity of the empire. He sought also to enrich his favorite province of Mazenderan with a similar establishment. That country, he pleasantly observed, would, "as it abounded with wine and hogs, be a paradise to Christians[n]:" but its unhealthy vapours defeated his plan, and a great portion of the colony died in a few years.

The internal administration of Shah Abbas has been praised by all the historians of his reign. There are many instances of what, under other forms of government, might be deemed excessive rigour[o] in the punishments inflicted on

[m] The town of Julfâ in Armenia was long in possession of the Turks. The grand signior had made it a present to his mother. When Abbas marched thither in 1603, the inhabitants not only expelled the Turkish officers that were in charge of it, but seized the revenue that had been collected, and carried it with the keys of their town as an offering to the Persian monarch, who ever afterwards treated them with marked favour and indulgence. Anthoine de Govvea informs us, that they possessed considerable wealth; and that when they were transplanted to a new Julfâ near Isfahan, they were in number five thousand, and took their property with them, the king furnishing camels for its conveyance. Chardin, who mentions the colony of Armenians at Julfâ as an instance of the excellent government of Abbas, declares that they were possessed of no property when they arrived, but at the end of thirty years were so affluent, that more than sixty of them possessed from a hundred thousand to two millions of crowns.

[n] Chardin.

[o] On some occasions he cut off the nose and ears of governors convicted of injustice, and often inflicted the punishment of *tukht koollah* on officers guilty of mal-administration. The offender had a fool's-cap and bells put on his head, was mounted on an ass, and paraded through the streets, exposed to the scorn of the mob. Sometimes he was beaten, and forced to dance like a buffoon.—SHERLEY's *Travels*.

his generals and ministers; but we must recollect that in Persia the will of the sovereign is in almost all cases the law of the land, and that he is always the director of its execution. The kingdom to which Abbas succeeded was in an unsettled state. The nobles were bold and seditious, and every province was ripe for rebellion. It must have required many and dreadful examples, before such a country could be reduced to the tranquillity which the general good required; and the energetic individual who effected this beneficial change must often have seemed to act the part of a cruel tyrant[p]. We discover few, if any, instances of unnecessary severity, except when he thought his person or crown in danger: but, unfortunately for his happiness and his fame, in his latter years he became prone to suspicion; and the dreadful remedy to which he had recourse on all occasions, was the instant destruction of those whom he suspected.

This monarch had been early compelled to repress the ambition of the principal chiefs of the Kuzzil-bâsh tribes, and had put several of them to death. He sought another defence against their turbulence, by forming a tribe of his own, which he styled *Shah Sevund*, or "the king's friends;" and he invited men of all tribes to enrol themselves in a clan devoted to his family, and therefore distinguished by his peculiar favour and protection. Volunteers could not be wanting at such a call; and we have one instance of ten thousand men being registered by the name of Shah-Sevund in one day[q]. This tribe, which became remarkable for its attachment to the Suffavean dynasty, still exists, though with diminished numbers. It could once boast of more than a hundred thousand families.

[p] Let us imagine, even in the present tranquil state of our own country, that all criminals whom the laws condemn, were sentenced by the king, and that the Court-yard of St. James's was the place of execution. Although his sentences might be as just as those of our judges, yet he would be deemed a sanguinary despot.

[q] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

Shah Abbas took another mode of releasing himself and his posterity from the dangers they were exposed to from the turbulence of the Kuzzil-bâsh chiefs. The koortchy, or army composed of their followers, amounted to between fifty and sixty thousand horsemen. The men would only obey leaders of their own tribe; and the king could not advance a favorite, except he was the chief of a Kuzzil-bâsh family, to any rank or command in his army. Abbas reduced the number of this formidable body to thirty thousand, and raised a corps of ten thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, who received their pay from the crown, and were commanded by those officers whom the monarch thought fit to appoint. The soldier who belonged to this corps was called koolâr, or gholam, both words signifying "slave[r]," if literally interpreted; but deemed an honourable appellation, which distinguished them as the personal guards of the king. The infantry were called tuffungchee, or musqueteers, and were the first ever embodied in Persia. Abbas is said to have chiefly intended them to oppose the janizaries[s] of Turkey; but they were otherwise useful, as they constituted a defence to the monarch against the violence of his nobles.

Abbas, though he appears through life to have openly violated that law of the prophet which forbids wine, affected extreme piety; and there was hardly a year of his reign in which he did not make a pilgrimage to some sacred shrine. During two weeks that he was at Nujuff, he daily swept the tomb of the holy Aly, an envied office, which none but men of exemplary life are allowed to perform[t]. He went, as has been before mentioned, on foot from Isfahan to Mushed, to mark his respect for the holy Imaum interred

[r] This new corps was chiefly formed of captives from Georgia, Iberia, and Armenia, who had become Mahomedans, but who cherished a great hatred of the Turkish troops.—Chardin, vol. iii. p. 292.

[s] This word is Turkish. The compound yangee, "new," and cherâ, "camp, or army;" forms yangee cherâ; which Europeans have corrupted to janizaries.

[t] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

there; and by this and many similar marks of outward piety, he conveyed an impression, that, although he might occasionally deviate from rectitude, he was sincerely religious.

The Sudder-ul-Suddoor, or high pontiff of Persia, had been first established by his ancestor, Shah Ismail. Syuds, or descendants of the prophet, were alone nominated to this office, the powers of which were very great. There were also several other stations held by Moollahs, or men of a sacred character, the duties of which were important. In the reigns of the predecessors of Abbas, the quarrels of these priests had been the cause of serious troubles. Their influence was considerable; each had his disciples and supporters; and their discord and disunion had more than once threatened the tranquillity of the state. Abbas used to boast, that his reign was exempt from these divisions: and it is related, that when he was one day riding with the celebrated Meer Mahomed Bauker Dâmâd on his right hand, and the equally famed Shaikh Bâhâudeen Aumilee[a] on his left, the king desired to discover if there lurked any secret envy or jealousy in the breasts of these two learned priests. Turning to Meer Mahomed Bauker, whose horse was prancing and capering, he observed, "What a dull brute Shaikh Bâhâudeen is riding! he cannot make the animal keep pace with us." "The wonder is, how the horse moves at all," said the Moollah, "when we consider what a load of learning and knowledge he has upon his back." Abbas, some time after, turned round to Shaikh Bâhâudeen, and said to him, "Did you ever see such a prancing animal as that which Meer Mahomed Bauker rides? Surely that is not the style for a horse who carries a grave Moollah." "Your majesty will, I am assured," said the Shaikh, "forgive the horse, when you reflect on the just right he has to be proud of his rider." The monarch bent his head for-

[a] Both these doctors of law are held in the highest repute by the Sheahs, and their works are of great authority on all points of law.

ward on his saddle, and returned thanks to the Almighty for the singular blessing he had bestowed on his reign, of two wise and pious men, living at a court, and yet untainted by envy and hatred [x].

The preference which Abbas showed for his own faith, did not prevent his tolerating others. To the Christians in his dominions he was particularly favorable. This feeling was in a great degree excited by his hatred of the Turks, and his desire to negotiate with the potentates of Europe a combination against the Emperor of Constantinople. Sir Robert Sherley, who had been left by his brother Sir Anthony in Persia, became a great favorite at court. His house was the asylum for Christians of all nations, and he was long the channel through which their complaints were brought to the ears of Abbas. That monarch bestowed a beautiful Circassian lady on Sir Robert, as his wife: and we are told by an authority [y] we cannot doubt, that the Mahomedan king stood godfather to the first-born of the English knight. We need not desire further proof of the toleration which Christians enjoyed during this monarch's reign.

In his conduct to his own family the character of Abbas appears in so horrid a light, that we can hardly permit our minds to indulge in that admiration which his other measures are calculated to inspire; but we must consider that one of the most terrible conditions on which human beings hold absolute power, is the necessity of viewing those who are nearest in blood, as the enemies most to be dreaded. The next heir to a despot must always be an object of his jealousy, which will generally increase in proportion to his good qualities and popularity. This certainly was the case with the great Abbas: he had four sons, whom he beheld with delight until they attained manhood, and began to display those noble qualities which he must, as a father, have

[x] Persian MSS. Moolah Sâduck.

[y] Preacher's Travels. Harleian Voyages, vol. i. p. 738. The traveller was himself the guest of Sir R. Sherley when he enjoyed the favour of Abbas.

desired them to possess; but when the wishes of his heart seemed fulfilled, he could not bear that the eyes of his subjects should be directed for a moment to any object but himself[a]. Those who served his sons with zeal and attachment he considered his enemies; and the courtiers near his person laboured to aggravate his feelings, hoping to destroy rivals whom they conceived eager for the enjoyment of their stations. A want of confidence in the king produced alarm in his sons. They saw themselves objects of a restless jealousy, that misinterpreted all their actions. We may believe, that when they found their loyalty could not preserve them from danger, they listened to those counsellors who pointed out a direct, though dangerous path to safety.

Abbas was led to believe that Suffee Meerza, his eldest son, a youth as remarkable for valour as generosity, had formed a design against his life, in consequence of his having put to death the nobleman who was the friend and favorite of that prince. He forgot that he was a father. He first applied to Kârâchee Khan, the brave general who had defeated the Turks at Shiblee, to become the executioner of Suffee. The veteran leader threw himself on the ground, and entreated his sovereign to deprive him of life rather than render his existence hateful, by compelling him to become the murderer of a gallant prince. Abbas did not urge him further; but he soon found a willing instrument in Beh-bood Khan. That noble, on the pretext of revenging a private injury, stabbed the prince as he was riding to the court, and took refuge in the stable of the king, who, pretending to respect an usage which renders that asylum sacred, refrained from the execution of the assassin[a]. Such

[a] Chardin refers the murder of his eldest son to his having perceived, as he came out of his inner apartments, that the eyes of his nobles were turned with delight toward that promising prince.—CHARDIN, vol. iii. page 314.

[a] The author of Zubd-ul-Tuarikh tries to palliate this murder, by describing it as an act of personal revenge in Beh-bood Khan. In the Aulum-aurah the following account is given: "Suffee Meerza was the son of Shah

an act would, he said, bring suspicion in an affair that required deliberation; and he should therefore defer all proceedings till the infant son of Suffee Meerza was of age, and able to demand vengeance for the blood of his father. But even this thin veil was soon cast aside, and Beh-bood Khan was not only permitted to quit his asylum, but promoted to high stations[b]. It is however consolatory to know, that this wretch ultimately met with a fate suited to his crime. Abbas, who from the moment this rash act was committed, became a prey to remorse, had taken an opportunity of putting to death[c] every one of those courtiers who had poisoned his mind against a son whom he is said to have sincerely mourned[d]; but for Beh-bood Khan he reserved a more inhuman punishment: he commanded that obsequious lord to bring him the head of his own son. The devoted slave obeyed. As he presented the head of the youth, Abbas demanded with a smile of bitter scorn, how he felt. "I am miserable," was the reply. "You should be happy, Beh-bood," said Abbas, "for you are ambitious, and in your feelings you are at this moment the equal of your sovereign[e]."

Soon after the death of Suffee Meerza, the two remaining

Abbas: the father and son had long been on indifferent terms, and numbers wished to persuade the king that his son sought his life." But the king would never believe this: however, he put to death two of the prince's servants, who, he was persuaded, endeavoured to mislead him. Beh-bood Khan, this writer adds, was one of the king's favorite gholams, who, "satisfied that Suffee Meerza wanted to kill the king, stabbed him, and took refuge in the royal stable," which is in Persia the most sacred of asylums.

[b] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[c] Ambassador's Travels.

[d] Abbas, we are told, shut himself up in his palace for a month, covered his eyes for ten days, and wore mourning for a year. He ever afterwards wore the plainest clothes, and made the place where the prince died a sanctuary for criminals.

[e] That death which the cruelty of Abbas refused to Beh-bood, was soon afterwards given him by one of his slaves, who, to save himself from punishment, stabbed him while he lay senseless from intoxication.

sons[f] of Abbas were both deprived of sight by the cruel suspicions of their unnatural parent. The fate of one of these princes (if we can credit the testimony of a contemporary English writer[g],) was attended with circumstances of the most tragical nature. This youth, whose name was Khodâh-bundâh[h], was as much distinguished for his courage and talents, as his elder brother; but he was more cautious to avoid that attention which he feared would rouse the jealousy of his father; and he not only kept flatterers at a distance, but hated to hear the just praises which his actions obtained him. This conduct only added to that fame which constituted his danger. The first act by which Abbas showed his suspicion, was ordering the tutor and attached friend of his son to be put to death[i]. Conscious that the only crime of this officer was too great a regard for his master, the prince hastened to court, and in giving vent to his honest indignation, lost all consideration for his own safety. We are told that he was provoked

[f] The second son of Abbas, whose name was Tâmâsp Meerza, died before he had put the eldest to death.

[g] Sir Thomas Herbert. His account differs from that of Olearus; but the former is entitled to credit. The Zubd-ul-Tuarikh states, that the name of the prince murdered by Beh-bood was Suffee-Meerza, and that of the one whose eyes were put out was Khodâh-bundâh; and this is confirmed by the following passage of a letter from Mr. Edward Monnox, agent for the India Company, dated Isfahan, 1621:—

"The king (Shah Abbas), before he came to Isfahan, caused the eyes of his present eldest son, *Coda-bunda* Meerza, to be put out, and then confined him. His son Emanullah also confined, but not yet blinded. King means, they think, to leave the throne to his grandchild (then ten or twelve years of age). This grandson is the son of Sooffee Mirza, the eldest son of Abbas, who five years ago the king caused to be slain, which was treacherously done as he came out of a *Bannyo*, or hot-house. They may say of the king what was once spoken of Herod, 'It is better to be his swine than his son.' Albeit that beast is very hateful to his profession."—*Public Records, India House.*

[h] He was also called Rezâ Meerza.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

[i] The name of this person, according to Sir T. Herbert, was Masar; but his deplorable ignorance of the Persian language, renders him liable to frequent and gross errors, particularly in proper names.

to madness, and in the presence of his father and sovereign drew his sword. The fatal signal for his death was given; but Abbas relented so far as only to deprive him of sight. Shut out from the light of day, the prince became gloomy and desperate; nothing could give him pleasure; and his life passed in venting curses and brooding over plans of vengeance against the author of his being and of his misery. He had two children; the eldest, Fatimah, a lovely girl, was a great favorite of her grandfather, over whose mind she had acquired an astonishing influence. Abbas appeared miserable when little Fatimah was not near him, and her voice alone could soothe him when ruffled by those violent passions to which he every day became more subject. The prince learnt with savage delight how essential his daughter had become to the happiness of his father; and seizing her as she one day came to fondle upon his bosom, with all the fury of a maniac, he in an instant deprived her of life. Her astonished mother shrieked, and told him it was his darling daughter that he was destroying. Instead of attending to her, his next effort was to seize his infant son, that he might vent his fury upon him. The child was borne from him by the distracted princess, who sent immediately to inform Abbas of what had occurred. The rage and despair into which the sovereign was thrown, gave a momentary joy to his son; glutted with his terrible vengeance, he concluded the scene by swallowing a dose of poison, which in a moment terminated his miserable life[k]. Such were the scenes which marked the last days of Abbas, who, worn out with affliction of mind, and the pain of a disease which his intemperate habits had increased, died in

[k] Sir Thomas Herbert. This account is confirmed by a letter from Mr. Burt, dated Gombroon, 6th February, 1627. He observes, "This king hath added to the numberless terrors of his conscience the death of his own and only son, causing his eyes to be cut forth with a razor; whose own child was a spectator of his father's misery, whom in his rage he bereaved of life, as afterwards did unto himself by poisonous pills."—*Public Records, India House.*

his favorite palace at Ferrâhâbâd in Mazenderan at the age of seventy. He had been a nominal ruler almost from his birth, and had been sovereign of all Persia forty-three years.

Shah Abbas had a fine face, of which the most remarkable features were a high nose and a keen and piercing eye. He wore no beard, but had large mustachios, or whiskers. In his stature he was rather low, but must have been uncommonly robust and active, as he was celebrated throughout life for the power of bearing fatigue, and to the last indulged in his favorite amusement of hunting.

The faults of this king, or rather his crimes, have been already related. They were of a very deep dye: but we must be better acquainted with his history before we can pronounce on the exact degree of their turpitude. We know that all the ties of nature were broken asunder; and that scenes of blood were acted beyond what even tragedies have portrayed: but we cannot tell how far this apparent cruelty tended to preserve the peace and tranquillity of an immense empire. It is possible that innumerable lives may have been preserved by a father consenting to be the executioner of an ambitious son. It is not meant to palliate the guilt of Abbas, but to show that the perpetration of such crimes is too often the dreadful obligation of that absolute power to which he was born; and it is, therefore, the character of the government, more than of the despot, which merits our abhorrence. There have been few sovereigns who have done more substantial good to their country than Abbas the Great. He established an internal tranquillity throughout Persia, that had been unknown for centuries. He put an end to the annual ravages of the Usbegs, and confined them to their own territories. He completely expelled the Turks from his native dominions, of which they held some of the finest provinces when he ascended the throne. Justice was in general administered according to the laws of religion; and the king seldom interfered, except to support the law, or to punish those

who thought themselves above it. Though possessed of great means, and distinguished as a military leader, he deemed the improvement of his own wide possessions a nobler object than conquest: he attended to the cultivation and commerce of Persia beyond all former monarchs; and his plans for effecting his objects almost all showed the greatness of his mind. The bridges, caravansaries, and other useful public buildings, that he erected were without number. The impression made by his noble munificence on his subjects, has descended to their children. The modern traveller who inquires the name of the founder of any ancient building, receives the ready answer, "Shah Abbas the Great;" not from an exact knowledge that he was the founder, but from the habit of considering him the author of every improvement. We cannot suppose that a prince of this character could delight in cruelty: and to whatever actions the stern dictates of policy, the jealousy of power, the infirmity of age, or the artful intrigues of base flatterers, may have led Abbas in his latter years, we must not hastily consign to execration the memory of a monarch who restored Persia to a condition of greatness beyond what it had known for ages; who was brave, generous and wise; and who, during a reign protracted to near half a century, seemed to have no object but rendering his kingdom flourishing and his subjects happy. An eminent and impartial writer[1] has, in stating one historical fact, furnished us with the noblest eulogy on the character of Abbas. "When this great prince ceased to live, Persia ceased to prosper!"

[1] Chardin, vol. iii. p. 12.

Chapter XIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF SHAH ABBAS THE GREAT, UNTIL THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY THE AFFGHANS, AND THE ABDICATION OF SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN.

The kingdom of Persia had, at different periods, attained more extensive limits, but perhaps was never more prosperous and powerful, than during the latter years of Abbas the Great. The history of that monarch and his predecessors are related by many writers; but we lose these guides a short time after his decease. The author of the work [m] which I have chiefly followed in the account of this family, lived in the time of Abbas the Second, and closes his memoirs about the middle of that sovereign's reign; and few Persian histories give any particular and authentic accounts of the events between that period and the elevation of Nadir Shah. The causes which have occasioned this chasm in the annals are obvious. We can hardly imagine an era more unfavorable for a national historian. Nearly a century elapsed without any one political event of magnitude; and yet this extraordinary calm produced no advantage to Persia. The princes, nobles, and high officers were, it is true, exempt from the dangers of foreign or internal war; but their property and their lives were the sport of a succession of weak, cruel, and debauched monarchs. The lower orders were exposed to fewer evils than the higher; but they became every day more unwarlike; and what they gained by the tranquillity of the state, lost almost all its value when they ceased to be able to defend it. This period was distinguished by no glorious achievements. No characters arose on which the historian could dwell with

[m] Zubd-al-Tuarikh.

pleasure. The nation may be said to have existed on the reputation it had before acquired, until all it had possessed was gone, and it became, from the slow but certain progress of a vicious decay, incapable of an effort to avert the dreadful misery and ruin brought on by the invasion of a few Affghan tribes; whose conquest affixed so indelible a disgrace upon Persia, that we cannot be surprised at its historians having shrunk from the painful and degrading narration.

The task which Persian authors have left undone, has perhaps been better executed by foreign writers. The liberal policy of Abbas the Great attracted many Europeans to his dominions. He gave equal encouragement to all classes; and before his death there were in Persia, political envoys, soldiers, merchants, and missionaries, from almost every country in Christendom. The causes which produced this encouragement, were jealousy and hatred of the Turks, a desire of improvement in military tactics, a wish to increase the commerce of his country, and a spirit of religious toleration. These motives continued to operate after his death; and the most debased and cruel of his successors were kind and generous to the Europeans in their dominions. Hence numbers flocked to Persia, among whom were some men eminent for science and learning. In their pages we have an ample detail of the events of this period, which should not be passed over in silence; for it is more useful to contemplate despotism in its naked deformity, than when half concealed by a veil of glory. The picture may disgust; but this disgust proves that the lesson is conveyed; and the English historian of Persia can have no nobler object, than to give a faithful representation of scenes, which, by the contrast in the condition of a great community, must render such as live under a just and free government still more sensible to the value of the greatest of all human blessings.

Sâm Meerza succeeded his grandfather, Shah Abbas. When that monarch was asked, immediately before his death, who should be his successor, he named this prince,

who was the son of the murdered Suffee Meerza. He was informed, that the astrologers had foretold, that the reign of Sâm Meerza, if he ascended the throne, would be short. "It is my desire," said Abbas with impatience, "that you place upon his head that crown, which was the right of his unfortunate father [n]." The nobles respected the last command of their sovereign, and hastened to Isfahan, where the destined heir, then seventeen years of age, was taken from the haram, and proclaimed King of Persia, before it was publicly known that his grandfather was no more.

This prince, who took the name of Shah Suffee, on ascending the throne, reigned fourteen years. He was a capricious tyrant; and every year of his rule presented the same horrid scene of barbarous cruelty. All the princes of the blood royal, and almost every minister [o] or general of family or character, were either put to death or deprived of their eyes by his command; and the dreadful list of his victims was swelled by a great number of females, some of whom were of the first rank [p]. Among those who were slain by this cruel prince, the fate of Imam Koulee Khan and his family excited the most general sympathy. That chief was the son of Aly-verdi Beg, the renowned general of Abbas, and fully equalled his father in fame. He had subdued the whole province of Lâr, and aided by the English, had taken Ormus from the Portuguese. He had been,

[n] Introduction to Krusinski's Memoirs, p. 29.

[o] The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh gives a list of the princes and nobles put to death or deprived of sight, which appears to include every officer who enjoyed rank and office under Abbas, and every male in the most distant degree related to the royal family.

[p] The daughter of Abbas, who had married Isâk Khan, was among these victims; and several authors assert that his own mother, who had enraged him by some free remonstrances on his conduct, shared the fate of all those who attempted to give him counsel. When he was one day excessively intoxicated, he stabbed his favorite queen; and we are informed by Tavernier, (vol. ii. p. 208,) that when he recovered his senses, and found what he had done, he gave way to the most violent grief, and issued orders to destroy every wine-flask in his kingdom.

for a number of years, the chosen instrument of Abbas for improving the southern part of his dominions; and had founded under his auspices a college at Shiraz, and built several caravansaries and bridges in Fars. Such employment was congenial to this generous nobleman, whose mind was as liberal as his sovereign's. His personal fortune, though great, sank under his munificence. We may judge of the style in which he lived, by a speech made to him by Abbas. "I request, Imam Koulee, that you will spend one dirhem less per day, that there may be some difference between the disbursements of a khan and a king[q]." This nobleman was summoned to the court of Shah Suffee: his friends warned him of his danger; but he deemed it impossible for a person who had rendered such services, and whose allegiance was so decided, to incur any risk[r]. He went,—was murdered; and his sons shared his fate, lest they should revenge their father[s].

The Usbegs, encouraged by the death of Abbas, invaded Khorassan, but they were attacked and defeated by the Persian army there stationed. Candahar, however, was lost. Suffee had directed the governor[t] to repair to his presence; but that chief, deeming himself marked for destruction, made over the fort to the troops of the Emperor of India, and sought protection at the court of Delhi. The Turks were encouraged by the state of Persia to attack it[u]. Though at first repulsed, they succeeded in taking Bagdad; after which the Emperor Moorâd advanced into Aderbijan at the head of a large army, and took Tabreez; but he was compelled by the approach of winter, and a scarcity of supplies, to retreat; and his army was greatly harassed by the Persian horse. Shah Suffee was successful in suppressing a rebellion in Ghilan; and he took Erivân after a long

[q] Persian MSS.
[r] Tavernier. Olearius.
[s] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.
[t] The name of this nobleman was Aly Murdân Khan.
[u] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

siege, during which, his flatterers have asserted that he displayed great personal valour; but he only expressed a determination to storm that fort, and either to conquer or die in the breach. The solicitude of his ladies and ministers prevented this resolution being carried into immediate effect[x]; the seasonable fall of Erivân[y] did away the necessity of its revival, and left the world in doubt whether this detestable tyrant possessed even the common quality of courage.

The Persian authors who have written the life of this prince, have tried to veil his crimes and exalt his virtues. One contemporary writer, who was a celebrated astrologer, ascribes the death of several nobles to their unfortunate horoscope; and, on this reasoning, deems the monarch guiltless. He informs us that the king, when encamped near the mountain of Sahund in Aderbijan, was one day fishing for trout[z]: he caught five hundred, and being particularly pleased with several noblemen of high rank, who had shared in his day's amusement, he gave them rich dresses of honour; but unfortunately for them, our author very gravely adds, the moon was in the constellation of Leo when they received these marks of favour[a]. The consequence of this inauspicious circumstance was, that they were all a few days afterwards put to death[b] by the king, on the occurrence of a trifling affray, caused by intoxication; a prevalent vice, which Suffee encouraged by his example. It is pleasing to be able to record one good action

[x] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[y] "This city is situated on the banks of the river Zengui, and is defended by a fortress, of an elliptical form, upwards of six thousand yards in circumference. The north-west side of the town is built on a precipice, impending over the river one hundred toises in height, but is commanded by the fort, which is surrounded by two strong walls, flanked with towers."—Kinnier's *Memoir of Persia*, p. 325.

[z] This is the only stream in Persia in which I ever heard that this fish was found. I encamped near it in 1810, and tasted some which were very good.

[a] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[b] The principal of these chiefs were, Ageeloo Khan, commander of the guards, and Hussein Beg, a lord in waiting.

of this monarch[c]: he restored about three hundred wretched Armenians to their native country, who were all that remained of a colony of seven thousand which Abbas had planted at Ashraff, in Mazenderan[d].

Chardin, in his treatise on the government of Persia, has ascribed Suffee's cruelties to systematic policy; and says that, by putting to death the chief military nobles, he finished what his grandfather, Abbas, had begun; and that the desire of both was to introduce captives and slaves into high offices, in order the better to reduce and degrade an aristocracy too powerful to admit of their exercising an uncontrolled and absolute power[e]. This observation only appears true in a very modified sense. Abbas made many changes in the system of government; but he only sought to render himself independent of the powerful khans or feudal lords of Persia. Their destruction was not his object; on the contrary, he preserved them in great strength, and always deemed them the best defence of his kingdom. He punished and rewarded them, like his other subjects, without fear or suspicion. His courage, while it repressed turbulence, in-

[c] Modern Universal History, vol. v. p. 148.

[d] Suffee was in general kind to Christians; though the first and only European ever publicly executed in Persia was in his reign. A watch-maker, called Rodolph Stadler, a native of Zorikh, had accompanied the mission from the Duke of Holstein to Persia, and became watch-maker to Suffee. Rodolph slew a Persian, whom he found in his house, and suspected of being too intimate with his wife. He applied to the king, who at first pardoned him, but was afterwards persuaded by his ministers to recall this pardon, unless Rodolph became a Mahomedan. The king was very desirous to effect this object, and offered Rodolph, if he changed his religion, a fortune of ten thousand tomâns, and a beautiful wife; but all was in vain; Rodolph would not give up his faith, and the king was compelled to let the law have its course. The firm Christian was given over, agreeably to usage, to the relations of the man he had slain. They struck off his head on the last day of October, 1637. His body, by the king's command, was given to the Armenians, who interred it as the corpse of a martyr; and the priests reported that angels were seen, on the night of its interment, hovering round the tomb.—Tavernier, vol. ii. p. 239.

[e] Tavernier also states that Abbas had left a secret order to put certain great khans to death, but gives us no authority for this improbable assertion.

spired attachment. The character of his unworthy grandson was exactly opposite. All his motives were of the basest kind. His actions were always referrible to his anger, his avarice, his caprice, his jealousy, or his fears. Yet this tyrant, who was despised even more than he was dreaded, reigned in peace: but there can be no doubt that he was more indebted for his personal safety, during the few years of his occupying the throne to the reverence in which his family was held, and to the fame and wisdom of his great predecessor, than to the terror inspired by his cruelty and oppression.

This prince died at Kashan, and was interred at Koom[f]. He had, we are told, a countenance remarkable for its soft and pleasing expression; and his natural disposition may have been good, as it is probable his character was formed by his education. Persian princes had been brought up as soldiers until the period of Shah Abbas. The sense which that sovereign appears to have entertained of the danger of that system, led him to direct a change; and after the death of his sons (whose fate has been related), the Suffavean princes were immured in the haram, and saw only women and eunuchs. A monarch, who was never permitted to

[f] "The city of Koom was built in the year of the Hejirah 203, from the ruins of seven towns, which had composed a small sovereignty, under Abdalrahman, an Arabian prince. But this person having been overthrown by his enemies, and his country ruined, the inhabitants of the seven towns founded the city of Koom, which was divided into seven departments, each assuming the name of one of the towns which had been destroyed. It afterwards became one of the first cities in Persia, and was long celebrated for its manufacture of silks. It stands in an extensive plain, and on the banks of a small river, which rises at no great distance, and is lost in the great Salt Desert. Latitude 34° 45′ N., longitude 50° 29′ E. Koom was taken by the Affghans, when they invaded Persia in 1722, and completely destroyed. Part of it has since been rebuilt, but it still has the appearance of a vast ruin. There is a very beautiful college, with a celebrated mosque and sanctuary, erected to the memory of Fatima, the daughter of the Imaum Reza. In the mosque are to be seen the tombs of Sefi the First and Shah Abbas the second. The dome is lofty, and has been gilded at the expense of the king."—Kinnier's *Memoirs of Persia*, p. 116.

leave this prison till he ascended the throne, was likely to be effeminate and inefficient. It was hardly possible that he could resist the intoxication of absolute power. The unlimited indulgence of his passions seemed almost the certain consequence from his former privations, and his entire want of experience. Suffee, who trusted all public affairs to his ministers, and who revelled in every sensual gratification, was perhaps as prone to cruelty from cowardice as from inhumanity. He gave a ready ear to every informer, and was no less prompt to execute all whom his ministers denounced as dangerous, than destroy those ministers when their enemies instilled into his weak mind the slightest doubt of their fidelity.

He was succeeded by his son, Abbas the Second, who was not ten[g] years of age when he ascended the throne. He fell entirely into the hands of his ministers, who are represented as persons of religious and austere habits[h]. They made an attempt to reform the manners of the court and of the nation. Those who were not devout were compelled to appear so; and we are told, that at the capital men feared to listen to any thing but prayers[i]. Wine was prohibited. Drunkards were removed from office; and strict sobriety and attention to the outward forms of religion were the only recommendations to high station. One author[k] states, that the inhabitants of Erivan, in Armenia, alarmed at the abstemious and pious character of a governor appointed to

[g] We are told by the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh, who was an officer of this prince's court, that he was born on Friday, the 18th of Jumadee-ul-akhur, in the year of the Hejirah 1043, and ascended the throne on Friday, the 26th of Suffer, 1052, when he was nine years, eight months, and twenty-eight days old. According to the Modern Universal History, Abbas the Second ascended the throne A.D. 1642. This mistake has probably arisen from a miscalculation of the Hejira and Christian era.

[h] The first minister, or Itûmâd-u-dowlah, was Meerza Tuckee; he was afterwards murdered by a conspiracy of nobles, all of whom the king punished with death.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

[i] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[k] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

rule them, petitioned the king not to send him. Their frailty, they said, led them to dread a "water-drinker[l]." The fact was, the Christians of this city were remarkable for their drinking; and they were alarmed at the prospect of being governed by a religious bigot, who would consider even the moderate use of wine a just ground for plundering them of their property, if he did not deprive them of life. The king was advised to attend to this petition. His reply stated, that the drunkards of Erivan were quite unworthy of the holy man[m] whom he had appointed to rule them; and he therefore had nominated one whose character was more suited to such sinners[n].

The manners of the court altered as the king advanced in years; and the severe restraint in which Abbas the Second had been kept by his ministers, was probably one of the causes that led him, when he threw off their trammels, to indulge in excesses disgraceful to a reign otherwise happy and prosperous: he committed few cruelties, except when intoxicated; but he appears then to have departed from the natural humanity of his character, and from the dignity of his station. All Europeans, whether travellers, merchants, monks, or artificers, were admitted to share his orgies. They have furnished us with a disgusting detail of the freaks of a drunken king; and, by showing us that slaves were ready to execute the most cruel mandates of a tyrant almost insensible from wine, have presented us with a degrading picture of human nature. Persian writers say the royal feasts were frequently enlivened by wit, and that the king sometimes condescended to smile at the sallies of his companions. He happened to observe, at one of his entertainments, that he had sent an ambassador to India, who had met with so many delays, he believed he would never come back. "Let us all agree to sit here till he returns," cried the son of a judge,

[l] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[m] The name of this devotee was Mahomed Kooli Khan.

[n] He appointed Khoosroo Beg Cherkus to be their governor.

who made one of the assembly [o]. Though the youth had forgotten himself, Abbas was delighted with an exclamation showing such enjoyment of his society. But different scenes were often exhibited; and the most dissipated nobles dreaded an invitation to drink with their monarch, who was as solicitous to make them exceed as he was prompt to punish any act of disrespect produced by that excess.

Candahar, which had been lost by his father, was recovered by this prince, who had the glory of making the conquest in person before he he was sixteen years of age [p]. We discover in the account of this expedition, that his ministers were not mere pretenders to virtue and religion [q]; the officers charged with collecting supplies for the army had strict orders to pay for every article they received; and all ranks were conciliated by the conduct of the court. The Emperor Shah Jehan made many efforts to recover this city, but with no success. The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh was honoured with the appointment of physician and astrologer to this important fortress. He gives a minute detail of the attacks and failures of the Indian army; and on one occasion he assumes great merit for having withheld the Persian commander from venturing on a general action when the planet Mars [r] was in the south; which, he assures us, would have rendered defeat certain.

During the reign of Abbas the Second, great divisions took place among the Usbegs. A prince [s] of that country had been compelled to fly from his dominions, and to seek refuge in Persia. He was received by Abbas with the most

[o] Persian MSS.

[p] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[q] The respectable Kulliffâ Sultan was prime minister. This old man, in addition to a proclamation against wine, had made one against female dancers.

[r] He informs us, that as Mars was in the south on Wednesday, and likely to be in the west on Sunday, he advised delay. It appears that, to insure good fortune when you engage, this planet should be to your right; if it be in front, defeat is certain.

[s] His name was Imaum Kooli Khan.

splendid hospitality. Fifteen thousand horse accompanied him from Kashan to the capital[t]; and when he approached Isfahan, the king and all his nobles went seven miles to meet him[u]. The whole road was covered with rich silks, over which the two sovereigns rode; and the Usbeg prince was treated in the same royal style as long as he remained in the Persian dominions. Nadir Mahomed, another ruler of the Usbegs, by the intrigues and arms of the Emperor Shah Jehan, had been forced to fly from Bulkh. He sought aid and protection from the King of Persia; and his treatment was, if possible, still more noble. A large force was ordered from Khorassan to support him, and he recovered his possessions without an action[x]. This prince was obliged, by reverses, to throw himself a second time on the friendship of Abbas, and was again received with kindness and honour. He died in Persia; and Abbas not only attended to his last request, that he should be buried at Mushed, but directed a large sum to be disbursed in charity at his interment[y]. He did more; he commanded that every article of his property, and the money he possessed at his death, which exceeded a hundred thousand tomâns, should be sent to his son, Abdûl Azeez, whose gratitude and friendship were the reward that Abbas desired and obtained by his generous and royal conduct.

The peace with Turkey remained undisturbed throughout the reign of Abbas the Second; and we may conclude that few questions of consequence were agitated between the two states, when informed that two of the envoys from Constantinople, during this monarch's reign, had no object but obtaining an elephant for their emperor's amusement[z].

The vanity of Abbas the Second was gratified by embas-

[t] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[u] Tavernier.

[x] The army of the Emperor of Delhi evacuated Bulkh at the approach of Nadir Mahomed and his Persian allies.

[y] History of Sultan Mahomed Meerza.

[z] Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

sies from almost all the nations in Europe, as well as from India, and the remotest regions of Tartary. His country enjoyed complete tranquillity; commerce flourished; and his kindness and attention to strangers attracted vast numbers to his dominions.

We have a remarkable instance of the generous clemency of Abbas in his conduct to Tâhmûrâs Khan, Prince of Georgia, whose life had passed in hostility to him; but who, when made captive by one of his generals, was not only forgiven, but loaded with favors: the Persian monarch also obtained the release of his grandson, who was a prisoner or hostage with the Emperor of Russia[a].

Abbas the Second died at the age of thirty-four[b], after a reign of nearly twenty-five years. Some authors have attributed his death to an inflammation in the throat[c], caused by excessive drinking; others to a loathsome disease[d], the consequence of another vice, to which he was equally addicted. The love of wine caused all the evils of his reign. In his moments of intoxication alone was he capricious, cruel, and unjust[e]: but the danger from these excesses was nearly limited to his court; the country at large only knew him as one of the most generous and just rulers that ever reigned in Persia. To the public officers of government he was severe, but to the poor mild and lenient; and the lives and property of his subjects were efficiently protected. He was as tolerant to all religions as his great ancestor whose name he had taken. To Christians, indeed, he always

[a] History of Sultan Mahomed Meerza.

[b] He died in his palace at a village called Khoosroo-abad, near Damaghan.

[c] Chardin states, that he was thirty-eight years of age when he died: but the date of his birth given by the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh, makes him only thirty-four.

[d] The pain caused by his disease was so excruciating, that he died in the conviction that he was poisoned.

[e] Both Chardin and Tavernier give us some dreadful instances of his cruelty; but almost all his crimes appear to have been committed when in a state of inebriety. This accounts for the contradictory statements given of his character: but this degrading vice, instead of palliating, aggravates his guilt.



showed marked favor. "It is for God (he was wont to observe), not for me, to judge of men's consciences; and I will never interfere with what belongs to the tribunal of the great Creator and Lord of the Universe[f]."

Suffee[g], the eldest son of Abbas the Second, was twenty years old when his father died. He had only one brother, Humzâ Meerza, an infant seven years of age. This child had accompanied the court, while Suffee had been left at Isfahan, where he was kept close prisoner in the haram; and a report was now spread and believed, that he had been deprived of sight, and was therefore incompetent to reign. Under pretext of this rumour, the chief officers of government determined, at a general council held on the death of Abbas, to elevate Humzâ Meerza to the throne[h]. Their real motive probably was, by giving the crown to a minor, to preserve the power in their own hands, and to escape the danger which threatened them, from a prince long rigorously confined; for it was likely that he would resent the severity he had been treated with, on all who had shared his father's regard and confidence.

The prime minister had apparently convinced all the council of the expediency and wisdom of this measure; and

[f] Du Cerceau.

[g] The Persian Manuscript, chiefly followed in the preceding history of the Suffavean kings, terminates fourteen years before the death of Abbas the Second; and no authentic Persian history details the latter events of this dynasty. I obtained a work by an exiled prince of this family, Sultan Mahomed Meerza, who, when living in retirement at Lucknow, composed a volume professing to be a history of his ancestors; but it is evidently not very correct; and as it was written more from what its author had heard, than from what he knew, it cannot be much depended upon. I deem myself more fortunate in possessing a small manuscript on the Affghan invasion of Persia, by Shaikh Mahomed Aly Házeen, a man of singular piety and learning, who was in Isfahan during the siege, and was an eye-witness of all he describes. He afterwards became a voluntary exile, and died in India at Benares, where his memory is still generally respected.

[h] Chardin has given us a full and authentic detail of all these events, and there can be no better authority. He lived in Persia during almost the whole reign of Solimân.

they were concerting the mode of carrying their resolution into effect, when their plans were defeated by the firm loyalty and courageous justice of a man, who just before was an object of pity and contempt to the whole assembly[i].

Aga Moobâruk, a confidential eunuch, was intrusted with the education of Humzâ Meerza; and he, it was concluded, would hear with delight of a measure that was to place his charge upon the throne, and thus to make him one of the first men in the empire: but the eunuchs of the palace had long been remarkable for their fidelity and strict sense of duty; and it was reserved for Aga Moobâruk to raise still higher the character of this despised race. He waited until all the ministers had delivered their sentiments; and when he saw that they were unanimous in their determination to set aside Suffee, and elevate his younger brother, he addressed them as follows:—

"I must believe, most noble lords, that the resolution you have adopted is the result of a sudden impulse, and not of your mature deliberation. You can never, if you reflect, commit an act so contrary to justice, and the laws of our holy prophet, as that you have proposed. But you have hitherto only listened to the specious reasons for this act. Why has the true motive been concealed? Is not your real object to obtain the government of this kingdom? That is the cause why you desire to raise a child to the throne! You say that his elder brother is perhaps dead, or at all events deprived of sight. He is neither: he lives, he sees. My head shall answer for the truth of this. Had it been otherwise, the event could not have been concealed from me: besides, would not the deceased king, had he ever intended Humzâ Meerza for his successor, have increased his establishment? Should I, who have the sole charge of that prince, and his dignified mother, have been excluded from this important secret? But he never for one moment cherished this intention; and if you invest the

[i] Chardin, vol. iv. p. 236.

younger brother with the rights of the elder, you will commit at once injustice and treason. If there must be a sacrifice to preserve the peace of the state, let it be the younger. Do you not perceive that you will throw the kingdom into confusion? Do you expect that the other nobles of Persia have as little consideration for law and justice as you have? Will the people at large consent to share the great crime which you commit, which they must do, if they grant you their support? All will abhor you: and Humzâ Meerza will one day consider you as men, who elevated him only to serve the purposes of your own ambition; and who, to forward that object, were false to your king, to your prophet, and your God[k]." Here he stopped for a moment; and then, with increased agitation, exclaimed, "Humzâ Meerza! Humzâ Meerza! to what extremity am I reduced! Do you, great lords of this empire, desire that I should strangle that innocent prince with these hands that have reared him? Is it your wish that I should bring his corpse to your assembly? I have the power to commit this act of horror; and it appears the only means by which I can compel you to do justice. You will then be forced to carry the crown to him to whom it belongs: judge how he will reward you, when he learns the dreadful extreme by which you were reduced to the necessity of placing him upon the throne[l]!"

He quitted the assembly at the moment that he finished this speech; and, retiring to the interior of the palace, left the nobles looking at each other with surprise and horror. They could not divine by what motive Aga Moobâruk was actuated. They knew that he doated on Humzâ Meerza, and had every thing to expect from his advancement; while he could entertain no hopes from Suffee Meerza, with whom he was not connected by any ties. It could be only a high sense of loyalty, a regard for justice, and a desire for the welfare of his country, which had inspired him with such

[k] Chardin, vol. iv. pp. 226, 7.
[l] Chardin, vol. iv. p. 227.

eloquence and resolution. A conviction of his exalted motives aided the impression which the truth and justice of his sentiments had made upon all: after a long silence, the prime minister observed, that, as Aga Moobâruk had assured them the Prince Suffee was alive and had not been deprived of sight, it would certainly be proper to raise him to the throne[m]. The others assented; and Suffee, who took the title of Solimân, owed his crown and life to the fidelity and virtue of an eunuch, whom he early rewarded with marks of signal favor. He desired, it is said, to promote him to high employ, but Aga Moobâruk declined the distinction. Though educated in a seraglio, he possessed courage and virtue, and was exempt from avarice and ambition.

The reign of Solimân is unmarked by any event of consequence. He was a weak, unwarlike, and dissolute prince, whose time was divided between his haram and the pleasures of the table. The Usbegs renewed their annual invasions of Khorassan. The shores of the Caspian suffered by the predatory incursions of the Tartars of Kapchack; and Kishmâh, one of the principal islands in the Gulf, was seized by the Dutch. The pusillanimity with which Solimân suffered these attacks, not only met with advocates among the flatterers of his own country, but is praised by a learned and respectable European traveller[n], who was in Persia when this prince sat on the throne, and who ascribes the conduct of Solimân to wisdom and good policy. If such forbearance is entitled to glory, no person was ever more deserving of it than this weak and tyrannical prince, who was dreaded by none but the slaves of his power.

One of his greatest favorites was Aly Kooli Khan, a brave and generous chief, but volatile and imprudent. During the reign of Abbas, he had generally been in prison,

[m] Chardin, vol. iv. p. 228.
[n] Kempfer.

unless when his services were required against the enemies of his country[o]. This had acquired for him the name of "The Lion of Persia;" as men said that he was always chained, except when wanted to fight. The moment he learned that Solimân had succeeded to the throne, he contrived to escape from confinement, and presented himself at court; where by the aid of some friends, he rose rapidly into power; and, from his gay humour and love of dissipation, soon became the declared favorite of the young monarch. Solimân happened one day to say, that he had heard there were persons who rejoiced at the death of his father; and added, that if he could discover them, they should be punished most severely. The favorite replied, laughing, "I know none that have the least cause to rejoice at that melancholy event, except your mother and me. We certainly have; for we were prisoners, and now enjoy the government of Persia." The king smiled, and pretending to reprove his folly, called him a madman. This humorous lord was not, however, destitute of humanity or sense, and his influence was often exerted for good purposes; but his expenditure always far exceeded his income; and he was therefore venal and rapacious.

A minister of the highest character had at one time, by his knowledge of public affairs, and his great respectability, obtained the confidence, if not the favour of Solimân: but the virtuous and religious Shaikh Aly Khan[p] was, perhaps, employed more from necessity than choice. His severe integrity and unbending austerity, continually reproached the prince for his intemperance[q]. Solimân one day, when

[o] Tavernier, vol. ii. p. 287.

[p] This minister was of the tribe of Zungânah. Some of his lineal descendants are living at Kermansha. One of them was governor of that town and province a few years ago.

[q] The agent of the Company at Isfahan, in his letters to his employers, frequently complains of the moroseness and severity of Shaikh Aly Khan, who, he says, hated Christians: but Chardin, at the same time that he says he dreaded the restoration of this minister to power, because he had a pre-

enjoying himself in a convivial party, sent for his minister, and told him that he could no longer suffer his extreme prudence and sobriety. "You must relax sometimes," said he, "or we can never agree." The minister replied, that he lived as became his age and character. "Very true," said Solimân; "but your conduct is my reproach, and I can no longer endure it. You must get drunk with us immediately, either with wine or opium. Choose which you like best; but the dose must be swallowed. It is the command of your king, who will be obeyed." Remonstrances were in vain. Shaikh Aly Khan swallowed a preparation of opium, and soon fell down senseless[r]. The triumph of the king over the virtue of his minister knew no bounds. He called all his court to view the grave, the sober Shaikh Aly Khan extended on the ground: to complete the scene, he ordered the old man's beard to be shaved, and then sent him to his home. The public officers went next morning to tell Shaikh Aly Khan that the court was assembled; but the minister, enraged at the affront, bade them go and say, he considered himself disgraced, and would not attend. The king tried in vain to alter his resolution; and it is to the honour of his understanding, that every day made him more sensible of his loss. About four months afterwards, Solimân, in a fit of inebriety, commanded the hands of a musician to be cut off. A favorite officer[s], to whom this order was given, ventured to disobey it, in the belief that it was the effect of excessive drunkenness. The monarch had fallen asleep; but when he awoke, and found the same musician playing, he became furious, and directed that not only his hands

judice against Christians, and might prevent Solimân from purchasing the jewels which he had brought from Europe by the desire of his father, Abbas the Second, observes, "that Shaikh Aly Khan was inaccessible to recommendation and presents, having nothing at heart but the care and increase of the royal treasury."—CHARDIN, vol. i. p. 306.

[r] Chardin, vol. i. p. 307.

[s] Nasser Aly Beg, son of the Governor of Erivan.

and feet, but those of the favorite, should be taken off. The interference of one of the principal officers, only caused his being included in the same terrible sentence; the execution of which was on the point of commencing, when Shaikh Aly Khan rushed forward, and, throwing himself at the king's feet, begged for mercy[1]. "You are very bold," said Solimân; "you slight my earnest entreaties that you should again serve me, and yet you intercede for others." "I am your slave," said the minister, "and ready to obey all your commands." "Very well," said Solimân; "I forgive them all on your account. Resume your office, and I will promise, in future, to respect both you and myself more than I have done." It is even stated that the king vowed to abandon wine: but his resolution, if he ever took it, was soon broken.

We may judge of the habits of this prince, from the expressions used by the East India Company's agent at Isfahan. "The king," this gentleman observes in a letter to his employers, "still continues his excess in wine, which makes me fear, when I next address myself to him, he will command me to play the good fellow, and very probably be desirous of proving our European wine, which, if it be good, may be acceptable to him; therefore, request the supplying me with three chests; one sack, one claret, one rhenish, of the very best, to present him[2]." Gifts like these were calculated to secure for European traders the favor of a prince like Solimân.

We proceed with satisfaction to the close of his life, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign. He had been long afflicted by illness; but though he was, at one period, many years without coming out of his haram[3], the country remained as tranquil as if ruled by an active and energetic monarch. This weak and dissipated prince appears to have always placed implicit confidence in the

[1] Chardin, vol. I. p. 307.
[2] Gombroon Records, 27th Nov. 1672.
[3] MSS. Sultan Mahomed Meerza.

favorite of the moment; and his confinement during his latter years in the haram, where he could only see women and eunuchs, enabled the latter to obtain a complete influence over him, which they exercised so as to disgust all the high nobles and chief officers of government: but those classes of the Persians, who were unconnected with an effeminate and cruel court, were subject to no particular evils during this reign; and though the spirit of the nation declined, it was too gradually to be perceived, or to produce any effect on the public tranquillity.

The splendour of Solimân's[y] court equalled that of the most magnificent among his predecessors. Strangers were encouraged and protected: and foreigners[z] from every quarter of the globe, particularly from Europe, resorted to Persia. It has been before stated, that we are indebted to them chiefly for our information about this period of Persian history. All the important events in the reign of his son, Shah Sultan Hussein, have been minutely recorded by a Polish missionary[a] of learning and observation, who was at Isfahan during the greater part of the time, and had the best opportunities of obtaining accurate information. His Memoir is corroborated by a valuable Persian manuscript[b]; and it has received additional authority from being adopted as correct by an English traveller[c] who visited

[y] This monarch is always called Solimân, and is so known in Persian history; but he ascended the throne under the name of Suffee. A violent indisposition was imputed to his having been crowned in an inauspicious hour; and at his second coronation his name was changed to Solimân.

[z] Among these were several ambassadors from foreign states. One of the most splendid missions was from France, which reached Isfahan in 1672. Monsieur Gillone, who conducted it, styled himself "general and ambassador from the great king of Europe."

[a] Father Krusinski. He was procurator to the Jesuits, and associated in a negotiation at the court of Persia with the Bishop of Isfahan, who was accredited by the pope, and had letters from several princes of Europe. Krusinski was at Isfahan twenty years, and resided there till 1725.

[b] Manuscript of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hazeen.

[c] Jonas Hanway, the author to whom I allude, was born in 1712. He became a partner in a commercial house at Petersburgh, and went thence

Persia a few years afterwards, and who must have known many of the actors in those extraordinary scenes. The latter writer was fully competent to judge of the fidelity of this work; and he would never have given the authority of his name to falsehood or misrepresentation; for he was distinguished by a spirit of useful enterprise, a regard for religion, a love of truth, and an extensive knowledge of the manners and history of the various countries through which he travelled.

When Solimân was dying, he said to those by whom he was surrounded[d], "If you desire ease, elevate Hussein Meerza. If the glory of your country be your wish, place Abbas Meerza on the throne[e]." The eunuchs whom he

into Persia: the loss of some goods led him to the court of Nadir Shah, with whose history and character he became intimately acquainted. He also made himself master of all the events preceding that tyrant's usurpation. In 1753, when he retired to England, he published his Travels. He was the author of several other works. Both his writings and his actions show that he was a man of extraordinary activity of mind, and of singular virtue and benevolence. He was the chief founder of the Marine Society. The Magdalen Charity, which was projected by his partner, Mr. Dingley, was principally indebted to his active virtue for its establishment. To him may be traced many of our best parish regulations that relate to the care of children; and the first establishment of Sunday schools originated with Jonas Hanway. His efforts to do good were eminently successful, because all his projects were practical, and every class of his poor countrymen were objects of his benevolence. He endeavoured to alleviate the condition of chimney-sweepers, a race too generally despised. To the honour of the merchants of London, they evinced their respect and veneration for this excellent man by the most uncommon mark of attention. "His fellow citizens entertained such a sense of his merits, that, in Lord Bute's administration, a deputation of the principal merchants of London waited upon him, with a request that some public favor might be conferred on a man, who had done so much service to the community at the expense of his private fortune. Hanway was, in consequence, made a commissioner of the navy, which post he held above twenty years; and when he resigned it, the salary was continued to him for life. He died in 1786, and a monument was raised to his memory by subscription."—PUGH's *Life of* HANWAY.

[d] MSS. of Sûltan Mahomed Meerza.

[e] In the statement of this fact, as well as others, I find a very exact agreement between the Persian manuscripts in my possession and the Memoir of Father Krusinski.

had raised to all the first offices of state, had no wish but to preserve their own power; and they chose a prince, who, from his weak and indolent character, appeared unlikely to interfere with the government. Sultan Hussein had neither the violence nor cruelty of his father; but his meekness and bigotry proved more destructive to his country than the vices of Solimân. So great was his pious zeal, that none but Moollahs or holy Syuds were appointed to high stations; and his veneration for religion was carried so far, that every college was made a sanctuary even for murderers. The king acted on all these points at the suggestion of one of the principal Mahomedan priests [f]; who persuaded his sovereign to issue an order, a few days after he ascended the throne, not only to cast away all the wine and the rose-water left by his father, but to break the polluted vessels which had contained these forbidden liquors. He also prevailed upon Hussein to prosecute all sectaries; among these the principal were the Sooffees, a class of philosophical Deists [g], to which several of his ancestors had belonged.

The measures of Hussein were calculated to destroy what little spirit remained in the nation. High nobles gave place with resentment to eunuchs and priests; but their discontent was only vented in complaints. One of the most dangerous symptoms in the condition of Persia was, that the conduct of its weak, superstitious monarch provoked neither opposition nor revolt. The first twenty years of his reign passed in that deep lull which often precedes a storm. This passive and timid prince desired only to be undisturbed; and a peace of a century had made his subjects insensible to the approach of danger, and incapable of meeting it. But it is

[f] The name of this bigot was Moollah Mahomed Bauker Mujûlusee.

[g] This sect had erected a conventicle, called Touheed Khânâh, or "house of unity," where they met once a week to pour out their rhapsodies on the unity and greatness of God. This building was destroyed, and the leading Sooffees banished from Isfahan. The most celebrated was Shaikh Mahomed Aly, who went to India, and died at Benares.—*MSS. of Sultan Mahomed Meerza.*

time to give some account of that race, who, throwing off the shackles they had been long bound by, awoke Persia from a fatal dream of security, and retorted upon that nation all the injuries they had sustained from the tyranny of its oppressive governors.

The origin of the Affghan tribes[h], who inhabit the mountainous tract between Khorassan and the Indus, is variously traced by different historians. Some assert that they are lineally descended from the Jewish tribes, made prisoners by Nebuchadnezzar[i]; and the principal chiefs are said to

[h] The author of a manuscript History of the Affghans observes, that some derive the name Affghan from its Persian meaning, "lamentation," because these tribes bewailed their banishment from Judea. Others say that Affghan was the grandson of Saul, and was employed by Solomon in building the temple. This author refers to two histories of this nation, the Tarikh Affghanah, and the Tarikh Ghour, *i.e.* the History of the Affghans, and the History of Ghour. It appears, he says, from these works, that the Affghans consider themselves as partly descended from the Copts of Egypt and partly from the Israelites; but nothing is adduced to support this assertion.

[i] We are told by one of these writers that Nebuchadnezzar, after putting to death many of the prisoners, banished them into the mountains of Ghour, where they multiplied greatly, and soon became masters of the country. They maintained a correspondence with the Jews in Arabia; and when those changed their religion for that of Mahomed, a letter was received from a converted Jew, called Khâlud, informing them of the appearance of a new prophet, and invoking them to join his holy standard. Several Affghan nobles went to Arabia; the principal was Keis, who, we are informed by Affghan authors, traced his descent through forty-seven generations to Saul, and through fifty-five to Abraham. This chief, with others, was introduced by Khâlud to the prophet, who condescended to treat them with great favour; he bestowed on Keis the title of "Abdool Rusheed," and that of Malik, or "ruler," a name to which Mahomed said he was entitled, as the descendant from the ruler of Israel. These chiefs, after they became Mahomedans, accompanied the prophet to attack Mecca, and were distinguished by their zeal and valour. Keis after this returned to his native country, blessed with the prayers of the prophet, and accompanied by some inhabitants of Medina, who were to aid him in propagating the faith he had learnt in Arabia, among the mountaineers of Ghour. His success was so great, that before his death, in the fortieth year of the Hejirah, all his subjects were converts. He died at the age of eighty-seven, leaving three sons, to whom much of his power and influence descended. His memory is still revered. Every modern chief of Affghanistan endea-

trace their families to David and Saul[k]. Although their right to this proud descent is very doubtful, it is evident, from their personal appearance and many of their usages, that they are a distinct race from the Persians, Tartars, and Indians; and this alone seems to give some credibility to a statement which is contradicted by many strong facts[l], and of which no direct proof has been produced.

The Affghan tribes were converted very early to the Mahomedan religion. Their condition, from the first periods of which we have any authentic records, has undergone very little change. Their chiefs have always been more anxious for personal independence than for the strength of the government they lived under; and their followers have enjoyed a savage freedom, which made them hostile to every effort for reducing the clans into one mass; this, it was obvious, could never be effected without subverting that order of society which they were born and gloried in. A nation so constituted was unable to resist any formidable attack; and we find that the Affghans made hardly any opposition to Mahmood of Ghizni, to Chenghiz, or Timour, and that their country was long divided between the monarchs of India and Persia; but they were always turbulent and dangerous subjects. They had triumphed over the ruins of the noble city of Ghizni, and a family of their chiefs had sat upon the throne of Delhi[m]. The next country doomed to fall by their arms was Persia; but before the conquest of that country is described, a few words are necessary to explain the causes of so extraordinary an event.

vours to trace his descent to the illustrious Keis.—*History of the Affghans, Persian MSS.*

[k] Almost all Mahomedan writers claim this descent for the Affghans; and I possessed for some time a genealogical table, in which an attempt was made to prove all the principal families of Affghanistan direct descendants of the kings of Israel.

[l] There is no affinity whatever between the Hebrew tongue and the Pushtoo, or modern language of the Affghans; and no inscriptions have been discovered to support a belief of their Jewish extraction. Their own vague traditions cannot be admitted as conclusive on such a subject.

[m] Vide p. 290.

The Afghans of the tribe of Ghiljee and Abdâllee became subjects of Persia when Abbas the Great took possession of Candahar. They had been much oppressed by the Persian governor appointed to rule them, and all their efforts to obtain redress were in vain, till Sudoo[n], of the tribe of Abdâllee[o], and his brother Ahmed, were sent to Isfahan. The eloquent remonstrances of the former were heard; and Abbas not only granted his request, but nominated him elder[p], or magistrate of his tribe; and by a

[n] In a small MS. by Meerza Syud Mahomed of Isfahan, (late ambassador from Scind to the Governor-General of India,) there is the following passage regarding the Sudoozeyes:—

"In the time of the Suffavean kings, the Afghans were often oppressed; and on one occasion they were so discontented with their Persian governor, that they sent a secret deputation to Isfahan to solicit his removal, and the appointment of one of their own tribe. Their request was granted; and two of the tribe of Abdâllee were raised to the office of Reish Suffeed or Kut-khodah of the tribes, and their authority was confirmed by a royal patent. One of these persons was Sudoo, of the family of Bâmeezehi, from whom Ahmed Shah, the founder of the present royal family of Cabul, is lineally descended. The name of the other was Ahmed, of the family of Bâreekzehi, from whom the present Afghan chiefs, Serafraz Khan and Futteh Khan, are descended. The Afghans were delighted with this arrangement, and granted their entire and respectful obedience to the chief appointed by the Persian government. Time has confirmed this respect; and the superiority of the chiefs so selected has become an inheritance to their family. The race of Sudoo obtained sovereignty, while that of Ahmed has only gained high station and command. The Sudoozeyes (or descendants of Sudoo) are held in such veneration, that if one of them was to attempt the murder of an ameer, or lord of another tribe, it would be considered wrong to obtain safety by assaulting the Sudoozeyes. If an Afghan acted otherwise, he would be deemed an outcast in his own class, or tribe. There is, however, an exception to this rule in favour of the descendants of Ahmed, and the Ahmedzehis may, without sacrilege, slay a Sudoozeye; but a great number of the Afghans deny this privilege even to the Ahmedzehis. Sudoo and Ahmed were raised to rank by Shah Abbas the Great, and derived their fortunes from that fountain of dignity and splendour."

[o] At present this tribe is called Doorânee, a name given to it by Ahmed Shah; who, in consequence of the dream of a saint, assumed the title of Douree Dooran, which may be translated "The age of fortune," and called his tribe Doorânee.

[p] The terms used by the Persian authors are Reish Suffeed and Kut-khodah. The former means elder; the latter, magistrate. The title of

written mandate ordered that his person should be held sacred, and his authority respected[q]. The gratitude of his countrymen gave full effect to the intentions of the king; and the respect and obedience granted to Sudoo became the inheritance of his direct descendants. These are called Sudoozye, or sons of Sudoo, and are considered by the Affghans as a sacred branch of the tribe of Abdâllee, against whom it is impious to lift a sword, and on whom retaliation even for murder is not lawful[r].

The tranquillity established by the liberal policy of Abbas was of short duration; and his successors were engaged in constant disputes and wars with the sovereigns of India about Affghanistan. The rude tribes of that region, though of the Soonee persuasion, are said to have preferred submission to the Sheah monarchs of Persia, to dependence on the proud and luxurious Court of Delhi. The reason of this preference must have been the comparative laxity of the Persian sway. But the fact is, the Affghan tribes were generally able to maintain a considerable degree of independence, by balancing between these two powerful states.

The Ghiljee Affghans[s], who had long been settled in the vicinity of Candahar, had often shown a disposition to revolt; and it was believed that the Court of Delhi cherished hopes of regaining by their means the country that they inhabited. The ministers of Sultan Hussein were at a loss how to check this spirit of insurrection, but at last resolved

Reish Suffeed, or elder, exclusively belongs to those who preside over branches of tribes. Kut-khodah is the common appellation for the magistrate of a ward in a city, or the head of a small town or village.

[q] MSS. of Meerza Syud Mahomed.

[r] Some deviations from this superstitious respect to the Sudoozeyez recently occurred, but they were regarded with horror by the whole nation.

[s] All we know about the early history of the Ghiljee tribe is, that they ventured to plunder part of the baggage of the army of Sultan Mahmood, and were almost wholly extirpated. They are again mentioned during the reign of Timour, and appear to have then regained some strength: and when Shah Sultan Hussein ascended the throne, they were the most formidable of the western Affghans. They lived in tents, and almost all their pasture lands were in the vicinity of Candahar.

on appointing Goorgeen Khan, the Waly or Prince of Georgia, to the government of Candahar; and they determined not only to give him ample means for suppressing domestic rebellion, but for meeting any foreign danger which might threaten that quarter[t]. This prince was one of the ablest and bravest military leaders in Persia[u].

Goorgeen Khan marched to take possession of his government with twenty thousand Persians, and a select body of his own countrymen. His approach at the head of so large a force put an end to every appearance of revolt. But he was not satisfied with this submission, and proceeded to punish the Affghans as severely as if they had carried their design into execution. The Persian troops treated them as a conquered enemy; and no rank, age, or sex, was a protection[x]. This cruel oppression led them to send several missions to Isfahan, to complain of the new governor; but they found it difficult to obtain access to the king; and when their petition was at last presented, the friends of Goorgeen Khan persuaded Sultan Hussein that they were mal-contents who merited no attention. A harsh answer was given: the disappointed deputies returned to their native province, and imparted the indignation, which the conduct of the weak monarch had kindled in their breasts, to their countrymen.

The Georgian prince, well informed of all these proceedings, took the first opportunity of showing his resentment. Among the nobles of the tribe of Ghiljee who had signed the petition, Meer Vais was the most powerful[y]. By birth chief of a large branch of the tribe, he was also Kalanter, or principal magistrate of Candahar; and his power and in-

[t] Krusinki's Memoir, p. 151.

[u] Goorgeen Khan had attempted to establish an independent power in Georgia, but was forced to submit; and Sultan Hussein pardoned him, on his renouncing the Christian for the Mahomedan religion.

[x] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 102.

[y] The Ghiljee are subdivided into several branches, from five to ten thousand each branch.

fluence were increased by his gracious and winning manners, and his extraordinary liberality. This nobleman, Goorgeen concluded, probably with truth, had been the principal mover of all the representations to the king. He selected him, therefore, as a proper example; on some slight pretext he made him prisoner, and sent him to Isfahan [1]. He wrote at the same time to the ministers, informing them that the peace of Candahar depended on their keeping in confinement this powerful and ambitious leader. But he should have known the court better than to have trusted within its precincts so dangerous a character as Meer Vais. That artful and able chief soon became acquainted with the weakness of Sultan Hussein, and the corruption of his divided counsellors; and he intrigued with such success, that his cause was taken up by the enemies of Goorgeen Khan, and the most favorable opportunities afforded him of stating all his personal grievances, as well as those of his tribe [2]. His cunning and eloquence overcame the judgment of the monarch, while his wealth bribed the ministers; and the degraded captive was suddenly elevated into a court favorite. He might (if that had been his sole object) have returned with honour to his native country; but he had seen enough of Persia to make him cherish greater designs. The chief obstacle to his plans was Goorgeen Khan: he could expect no success while that brave and experienced ruler held his command. To subvert Goorgeen all his efforts were directed; and he succeeded so far as to create the most alarming jealousy of that nobleman's designs. But Meer Vais had too much prudence to precipitate his measures. He was desirous that every suspicion of his real motives should pass away, that he might safely execute his purpose; with this view he requested leave to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he secretly obtained Fetwâhs, or religious decrees, from the principal Soonee doctors, declar-

[1] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 154.
[2] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 105.



ing it lawful and pious to make war on and destroy all Sheahs; a sect whom these orthodox priests had long deemed the worst of infidels[b]. It was the subsequent exposition of these decrees that developed all the plans he had formed during his confinement in Persia.

When Meer Vais returned from Mecca, his designs were promoted by an extraordinary occurrence, which illustrates the weak and credulous character of the Court of Persia. The Emperor of Russia had appointed an adventurer named Israel Orii, ambassador to the King of Persia. This person, who was an Armenian, and had recommended himself by his knowledge of the oriental languages and some diplomatic services in Turkey, had solicited and obtained from Peter the Great the conduct of an embassy to Persia. This was granted as a reward for past services, and included many privileges; among others, a remission of customs upon all articles of merchandise carried by the ambassador and his train[c]. Orii, who considered this privilege as one by which he might enrich himself and his friends, admitted into his train several hundred followers, many of them his countrymen; and idle vanity, with a desire to increase his personal importance, led him, when he entered Persia, to spread a report that he was descended from the ancient kings of Armenia[d]. This boasted descent, his numerous attendants, and the character of the Emperor of Russia, gave Meer Vais an opportunity of alarming the courtiers[e] and their weak monarch. He hinted at a great combination of Christians to seize Armenia and Georgia. Goorgeen Khan was described as the heart and soul of this plan; and his

[b] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 172.

[c] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 174.

[d] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 107.

[e] The French agent at Isfahan desired that the Russian mission should not be received; and a French anagram, which rendered the name of Israel Orii into *Il sera Roi*, was explained as a prophecy to the Persians, and actually produced some effect. But though Sultan Hussein was alarmed at the embassy, he was more alarmed at Peter, and dared not refuse to receive his mission.—Hanway, vol. ii. p. 107.

great power and personal character gave a colour to these representations.

Though nothing could be more absurd than this alarm, it operated as the Affghan chief had foreseen. It instilled a settled jealousy of the Georgian prince; and fear alone prevented his immediate removal: but the advisers of Hussein, who dreaded an act of open hostility against a leader of his rank and reputation, had recourse to the expedient of restoring Meer Vais to his former situations[f], that he might be a check on Goorgeen's ambition. The indignant governor, though he permitted the Affghan lord to resume his former stations, resolved to show that he defied those by whom his slanderer had been protected; and he was led by the violence of his temper to a course more dangerous than any other he could have adopted. Report spoke highly of the beauty of the daughter of Meer Vais. Goorgeen Khan had listened to her praises, and deemed the opportunity at once favorable to gratify his passion, and to humble a proud enemy. He sent an abrupt message to that chief, demanding this lady. The mandate showed he was resolved to be obeyed[g]. Meer Vais communicated with the heads of his tribe. The Affghans are peculiarly jealous of their honour, as connected with the females of their family; and a general indignation pervaded all. They entreated Meer Vais, by the oppressions they suffered, by his own wrongs, and by the inexpiable insult he had received, to stand forth as the avenger of his tribe, and swore that all would sacrifice their lives to support him. He heard them with inward joy, but implored them to have patience. "It is better," said he, "to strike the lion sleeping than awake. Be secret and faithful; trust your cause to me, and be assured I will take a terrible vengeance on our enemies." They promised implicit obedience; all present took a solemn oath, by the bread and salt which they ate, by the sabres

[f] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 182.
[g] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 111.

with which they fought, and by the sacred koran in which they believed, to be secret and faithful. They added a ceremony still more binding. They pronounced their wives to be divorced[h] when they proved false to their engagement.

Meer Vais, willing to dissemble, but not to sacrifice the honour of his family, instructed a young girl of handsome appearance, who had been brought up in his house, to personate his daughter, and sent her to Goorgeen Khan, who, deceived by this act of apparent submission, began to treat him with great kindness. The artful Affghan pretended to have forgotten all that had passed: in a few months Goorgeen Khan placed such confidence in his former enemy, that he accepted an invitation to a sumptuous entertainment, which Meer Vais had prepared for him at a garden-house at some distance from the city. The impatient chief had long desired revenge: his injuries were deemed sufficient to justify the breach of hospitality and of faith. The governor and all his attendants were murdered at this feast; and the Affghan, clothed in their garments, and led by their daring chief, who was attired in the robes and mounted on the horse of Goorgeen Khan, moved in a slow procession towards the fort of Candahar[i]. It was dark before they reached it; and the deception was not discovered till they were within the town, and had commenced a furious attack on the garrison. The surprise was complete: victory was rendered secure, by the rise of the Affghans within the fort, and the arrival of parties which had been stationed near it. The inhabitants were told, that if they remained within their houses and permitted no Persian soldiers to enter, their lives and property should be preserved. Thus the troops of Goorgeen Khan, who had no retreat, were almost all put to the sword.

[h] This is not uncommon among Mahomedans when they undertake any desperate enterprise. They pronounce this conditional divorce with every solemnity; and they cannot give a more sacred pledge of their determined resolution.

[i] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 113.

A party of six hundred Georgian horse, who had accompanied their prince from his native province, happened to be absent on an expedition. Three days afterwards they returned, laden with booty, and were entering Candahar, when a discharge of cannon and musketry from the walls apprised them that it had changed masters. Meer Vais sallied out at the head of five thousand horse to attack them; but that chief was soon taught the difference between his new levies and old soldiers. The Georgians repulsed all his attacks for many days, and after suffering the greatest hardships, and performing almost incredible deeds of valour [k], effected their retreat into Khorassan. Their arrival, and the reports propagated of the numbers and ferocity of the Affghans, increased the dismay which the revolution of Candahar had spread over Persia.

Meer Vais took every step that a wise man could, to establish himself firmly in the power he had usurped. He called on his own tribe to show by their valour and good order that they were worthy of freedom. He not only promised but gave the most efficient protection to all the other inhabitants of the city and province of Candahar; and while he invited them to join him in throwing off the yoke of an oppressive and effeminate nation, he denounced the Persians as heretics, and published those anathemas against Sheahs which he had brought from Mecca. He further proclaimed, that all who were insensible to the benefits from the establishment of national independence, might depart and seek that tyranny to which they were devoted.

The weak court of Isfahan, instead of an army to subdue this dangerous insurgent, sent an ambassador to persuade him

[k] Hanway gives several particulars of the conduct of this gallant body, who, he asserts, slew two thousand of their pursuers. A Georgian was dismounted and had been left on the banks of a river, over which his friends had swum their horses; on the enemy coming near him, he held out the hilt of his sabre, as if he meant to surrender, but when the Affghan was taking him prisoner, he shot him dead with a pistol, sprang upon his horse, plunged into the stream, and, though fired at by the whole party, rejoined his companions.—HANWAY, vol. ii. p. 114.

to submission. But Mahomed Jâmee Khan, who was so employed, was stopped short in his harangue by the Affghan chief. "Dost thou imagine," exclaimed Meer Vais, "that wisdom dwells only with effeminacy, and has never passed the rugged mountains with which this kingdom is surrounded? Let thy king raise or let fall his arm as he pleases: were he as formidable as thou sayest, it would be with deeds, not empty words, that he would oppose our just designs." He then ordered the ambassador to be put in prison, with the twofold view of preventing his intrigues, and of making an irreconcilable breach between his tribe and the government of Persia [l].

The despicable ministers of Hussein were not roused even by this insult to see the necessity of more spirited measures. They commanded Mahomed Khan, the governor of Herat, who had been the companion of Meer Vais in his pilgrimage to Mecca, to proceed on a mission to him, weakly thinking friendship might lead the Affghan to attend to this envoy; but they knew little of his character. "Thou mayest thank thy God," said Meer Vais to his former friend, "for the claims which old acquaintance has given thee on my hospitality, or thou shouldest suffer for insulting us with proposals to become slaves, after we have once burst our chains. But be assured the hour of vengeance is at hand; and the brave Affghans are the chosen instruments of God for punishing the heretical Persians. Our swords are now drawn, and shall never be sheathed until your king is dethroned and your country conquered." Mahomed Khan, though well treated, was detained a prisoner; and the Persian government at last saw that there was no alternative but war [m]. Orders were given to the governors in Khorassan to commence hostilities; but a series of defeats sustained by the Persian generals emboldened the enemy, spread dismay over the kingdom, and convinced the vain

[l] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 116.
[m] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 117.

and indolent court that the whole force of the empire was necessary to meet a danger which, through its irresolution and weakness, had attained so alarming a magnitude. A strong army was assembled after much delay, and the command given to Khoosroo Khan, the waly of Georgia, who appeared from his character and birth the fittest person to vindicate the honour of the government, and to avenge his uncle, Goorgeen Khan. This chief advanced against Meer Vais, defeated him, and invested Candahar. The Affghan garrison offered to capitulate, if a general pardon was proclaimed, and their lives and property secured; but Khoosroo Khan insisted on their submitting at discretion. This too plainly indicated that no mercy would be shown; and the Affghans, rendered brave by despair, repulsed the Persians in every attack. In the meantime Meer Vais, having recruited his forces, began to harass the besiegers, whose leader was compelled by a total failure of supplies to raise the siege, and to lead his reduced and dispirited army to a second battle [n]. They were defeated; and their general rushed with a troop of his Georgians upon the centre of the Affghans, and found, amid heaps of slaughtered enemies, that death which he had no desire to avoid [o]. Another army [p] was immediately raised, and the command given to Mahomed Roostum Khan; but he was not more successful: he was defeated by Meer Vais, who now became the undisputed master of all the province of Candahar, and constituted it an independent kingdom. He cherished hopes of attaining still greater power, but he died before he could execute his plans. On his character both friends and foes are agreed. Though brave and daring, he was yet more distinguished for his extraordinary art and prudence.

He left two sons, the eldest of whom was only eighteen

[n] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 119.

[o] This action was very bloody: out of twenty-five thousand Persians, seven hundred only are said to have returned home.

[p] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 119.



when their father died: in consequence of their youth, the government devolved on his brother, Meer Abdûllah, whose timid, inefficient character soon excited general discontent among the Affghans. We may suppose that men who had just emancipated themselves from oppression, and tasted the sweets of power, must have heard with indignation the brother of their great deliverer recommend them to purchase a peace with Persia by surrendering their independence. Violent remonstrances were made. "Let us," said some of the chiefs, "if you will not pursue the glorious plans of your brother by attacking Persia, at least enjoy that freedom and tranquillity which our valour has obtained. Do not invite our enemies to bring back those shackles which it is our glory to have cast off: wait till the hour of necessity arrives, and show not, by a voluntary submission, that we are unworthy of any condition except the most degraded servitude[q]." These arguments had no effect on Meer Abdûllah, who, aided by a few congenial counsellors, employed his short rule in giving shape to his scheme for an accommodation with the court of Isfahan. His instructions to the deputies sent to Shah Hussein bade them insist on three conditions, as the price of the future allegiance of the Ghiljee Affghans: that the tribute they had formerly paid, should be taken off; that no foreign troops should be sent into the province; and that the government of Candahar should be made hereditary in the family of Meer Abdûllah[r]. When the particulars of this negociation became known, nothing could exceed the indignation of the most powerful Affghan chiefs; who justly considered, that whatever substantial benefits this compact might seem to procure, their return to even a nominal dependence would destroy that proud spirit, which alone could preserve the Affghans permanently from tyranny and oppression.

Mahmood, the eldest son of Meer Vais, and quite a youth,

[q] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 122.
[r] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 204.

had that open heart and fierce spirit which always recommend a leader to barbarians. He soon discovered that his hatred against his uncle, whom he deemed an usurper of his birthright, had become a general feeling among his countrymen. Trusting to this feeling for his justification, he selected forty friends, seized the palace, entered the chamber of Meer Abdûllah, and with his own hand put an end to his life. His friends immediately hailed him king[s]. The royal music sounded[t]; and the assembled chiefs, after deliberating on the conduct of the deceased, (all whose papers concerning the treaty with the Persian court were laid before them,) acknowledged the justice of his fate, and proclaimed Mahmood sovereign of Candahar.

The troubles which afflicted Persia gave Mahmood ample leisure, not only to secure himself in power, but to mature the plans of his father, whose successful efforts had encouraged a general spirit of insubordination, and excited a strong religious feeling among all Soonees against the Sheahs of Persia. The tribes of Kurdistan, who profess the former faith, had carried their ravages to the walls of Isfahan. The Usbegs, having combined with Azâdûllâh, the chief of the Abdâllee Affghans[u], subdued and plundered almost the whole of Khorassan. Azâdûllâh had before taken Herat, and, throwing off his allegiance, had declared that city and its surrounding territories an independent principality.

[s] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 123.

[t] The right of having certain kinds of music is, in most Asiatic countries, carefully preserved; different high ranks are designated by the instruments and the number of the musicians they are permitted to have. A royal band is peculiar, and sounds on all great occasions. The loss of an instrument belonging to such a band in battle is considered of as much importance as the loss of a royal standard would be in Europe.

[u] Azâdûllâh was chief of the Abdâllee Affghans who inhabited the country of Hazara. They had been placed under their own chiefs by Abbas the Great, but his successors had appointed Persian lords to rule them. They were generally subject to the governor of Herat. Mahomed Zemaun Khan, who then held that station, had offered a shameful and inexpiable insult to Azâdûllâh. He had been encouraged by the base father of the young chief; and even Persian authors deem Azâdûllâh justified by his wrongs in his parricide and rebellion.



Amid these dangers, the court of Isfahan appeared doubtful which first to encounter: but the invasion of the Usbegs and Abdâllees being the most alarming, thirty thousand men were sent under Suffee Kooli Khan to attack them. In advancing towards Herat, he fell in with twelve thousand Usbegs, whom he attacked and routed. This led the Persians to anticipate an easy triumph; but they were disappointed. Azâdûllâh met them with fifteen thousand of his tribe, and did not hesitate to come to action[1]. Victory was fiercely contested. The battle commenced at sunrise, raged with violence till past noon, and was only decided by one of those fatal accidents on which the fate of war often depends. The Persian army had a park of artillery in which there was little order or discipline. In the confusion of the battle, the gunners mistook a body of their own cavalry for the enemy. The men on whom they fired, knowing the Affghans had no cannon, imputed to treachery what was the effect of error. This not only checked their career, but caused a confusion in their ranks, which the enemy took advantage of to make a general and successful charge. The Persians fled in every direction, and were pursued to a great distance. They lost their general, his son, eight thousand men, twenty pieces of cannon, and all their baggage. This great advantage was dearly gained; for Azâdûllâh left three thousand of the bravest of his tribe on the field: but his success fixed his power and independence; and the Abdâllee Affghans of Herat became almost as formidable to Sultan Hussein, as the Ghiljees of Candahar.

While these dangers threatened the north-eastern frontier, it had become necessary to collect a force in the southern provinces to recover the islands in the Gulf, of which the Arabian ruler of Muscat had made himself master. The Portuguese government of Goa had been courted for this object: but their fleet, formerly accustomed only to triumph, had been defeated by the Arabs; and the Persian general, Lootf Aly Khan, disappointed of a naval equip-

[1] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 127.

ment, remained near Bunder Abbas; for the whole coast needed strong garrisons to defend it against the freebooters of the opposite shore, whom success had rendered bold and enterprising.

It was at this period of weakness and misfortune that Mahmood determined on invading Persia. He resolved to penetrate by Kerman, preferring a march over the desert of Seistan to the obstacles which presented themselves in every other direction. Though he took every precaution to surmount the difficulties of his march, he lost many men and horses; but his appearance was so unexpected and his force so large, that the city and province of Kerman immediately submitted[y]. This ready acknowledgment of his authority did not save the inhabitants from intolerable oppression; and it was with joy they learnt that Lootf Aly Khan had left the sea-coast and was hastening to their relief. Having collected a considerable force, he attacked and defeated the Affghan prince, and compelled him to fly to Candahar. Kerman, however, was only exposed by this victory to a repetition of its sufferings; and when Lootf Aly Khan marched away, it was difficult to say whether the invasion of the Affghans or the advance of the Persians to relieve them had been most ruinous to its inhabitants.

Lootf Aly Khan, expecting that Mahmood would return, adopted every measure to oppose him. He assembled a strong and well-equipped army at Shiraz. But the excesses of his troops, which laxity of discipline or necessity had led him to permit, and the heavy contributions of cattle and provisions which he was compelled to raise, excited a host of enemies against him. Their representations and intrigues succeeded: an order was sent to remove him from his command; and his dismissal[z] was the signal for the dispersion of his army.

[y] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 129.

[z] The disgrace of Lootf Aly Khan was connected with that of his brother, Futteh Aly Khan, the prime vizier, which merits mention, as it is characteristic of the wretched court and its weak monarch. The plot against him

The next year was marked by events which spread gloom over the kingdom. An ambassador had arrived from Constantinople; and, before the purport of his mission was known, all was consternation. It was concluded that he came to demand some fragment of the falling state; and the court, on finding this suspicion groundless, showed a joy which testified the extent of their weakness and alarm[a]. The Lesghees, who had been saved by the impolitic lenity of the king from the fury of the Waly[b] of Georgia, at-

was formed and executed by the principal Moollah, or high priest of the empire, and the chief physician, who broke upon the slumbers of the king at the dead of night, and told him there was a conspiracy against his life. They showed him a forged letter with the royal seal, from Futteh Aly Khan to the Waly of Kurdistan; the contents of which proved a design to subvert the government next day. Hussein was not merely alarmed; his fears for a time deprived him of reason: when he came to himself he ordered the minister to be slain. Those who seized him commenced by depriving him of sight, and were inflicting tortures to make him discover his treasures, when the day broke, but without discovering one of the three thousand Kurds, who, according to the forged letter, were to have attacked Teheran before sunrise. Shah Hussein began to suspect he had been deceived, and gave orders to save the life and heal the wounds of Futteh Aly Khan, and that his trial should be immediately entered upon: a general council of the nobles of the court was assembled for the purpose. The charges were three: That he had invited the Kurds to seize the king; that he had held a secret communication with the Lesghees, to whom, as a Soonee, he was attached; and that he had been heard to declare, when standing near the tomb of Shah Solimán, that he would revenge the death of his father whom that prince had slain, by the death of Shah Hussein, his son, and all the royal family. The minister, who boasted a descent from the ancient kings of Dághestan, made an able defence. The loss of sight rendering him indifferent to life, gave boldness to his eloquence; and he not only acquitted himself, but retorted on his enemies so as to satisfy the king of the vile manner in which his confidence had been abused; but all the justice which Hussein had the courage to show, was to weep over his minister's misfortunes.—Hanway, vol. ii. p. 133.

[a] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 143.

[b] His name was Váctángáh. Hanway asserts that he was so enraged at Sultan Hussein on this occasion, that he made a solemn vow never to draw his sword again in that monarch's service. The Lesghees, during his exile, had plundered Georgia; and he was on the point of taking ample revenge, when arrested by an order, which his enemies had prevailed on Hussein to issue.

tacked Shirwan, ravaged the open country, took the town of Shâmâkee, put a great number of the inhabitants to death, and plundered the remainder. The Abdâllees had made themselves masters of almost all Khorassan, and threatened Mushed; and Tabreez was completely destroyed by an earthquake, by which a great proportion of the inhabitants lost their lives[c].

Superstition, too, converted an unusual denseness of the atmosphere[d], and an extraordinary redness of the sun, into symbols of divine wrath. The astrologers were assembled, and agreed that the angry complexion of the skies portended the destruction of Isfahan by fire or by an earthquake[e]. This prediction obtained full credit; and Shah Hussein, with his chief officers, eunuchs, and ladies, left the city, and encamped in tents without it. Every measure that fanaticism could suggest was adopted, to avert the portentous threatening of the heavens[f]. Harlots were expelled from the city; liquor of all kinds was strictly prohibited; and priests were seen in every direction, exhorting the people to repent of their sins, as the only means of escaping divine vengeance. The effect was to depress the spirits of all. It appeared as if a great nation was preparing for death; and when intelligence was brought that Mahmood, with an army, increased by the junction of some auxiliaries, principally from Baloochistan, to twenty-five thousand men, had entered Persia, it was deemed the certain presage of that destruction which their fears anticipated.

[c] According to one author nearly eighty thousand persons perished.—KRUSINSKI'S *Memoir*, p. 186.

[d] The author of one Persian MS. says, the sun was veiled for ten days, the horizon having a red or bloody appearance. Father Krusinski observes, that in the summer of 1721, the clouds being denser than usual, the sun had a red or bloody appearance, which continued for nearly two months. He adds, "The astrologers declared it portended a great effusion of blood; and this prediction augmented the general consternation."—KRUSINSKI'S *Memoir*, p. 186.

[e] Persian MS.

[f] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 147.

The Affghan prince left Candahar early in January, and again crossed the desert of Seistan to Kerman. He soon made himself master of the town; but the citadel resisted all his attacks, and he gladly accepted a small sum of money[g] from the governor, which gave him a pretext for raising the siege without disgrace, and enabled him to advance into the interior of Persia. Instead of proceeding towards Isfahan by the road of Shiraz through a plentiful country, he went from Kerman over a desert and uncultivated tract to Yezd, which he attempted to take by assault, but was repulsed. He instantly resumed his march for the capital: within four days' journey of it, he was met by two deputies from Shah Hussein, who offered him fifteen thousand tomâns, if he would retreat without committing any further depredations; but Mahmood, satisfied that weakness and terror had dictated this overture, declined giving any answer, and continued his march to Goolnâbâd, a village only nine miles from Isfahan: here conceiving that the Persians would certainly oppose him, he threw up a slight entrenchment to defend his camp.

The Affghan army is said not to have amounted to more than twenty thousand men[h]. It had suffered some losses in crossing the desert, and in the unsuccessful attacks on the citadel of Kerman and the town of Yezd; and its only recruits were some Guebers, who had been persuaded to join Mahmood, in the hope that his success might alleviate the oppression they had so long endured. He had no cannon; but was furnished with a description of ordnance, or swivels, called zumbooruk[i], which were mounted on camels; and which, though often useful in action, could make no impression on the slightest walls, and were therefore not likely to be of any service in the great siege he proposed undertaking with this inadequate force.

[g] Two thousand five hundred tomâns. The tomân then appears to have been double its present value, which is about one pound sterling.

[h] According to some authorities they were nearer forty thousand.

[i] The zumbooruk carries a ball from one to nearly two pounds' weight.

Isfahan stands on the northern bank of the river Zain-derood. It is encompassed by a wall, and is defended toward the south by the river, which in the spring, the season of Mahmood's advance, is not fordable. To this city, containing nearly six hundred thousand inhabitants, the approach is over bridges, the principal of which has thirty-three arches, is flanked by four round towers, and has a covered gallery on each side. A great causeway and avenue, three thousand paces in length, seventy in breadth, and planted with a double row of lofty plane trees, approaches both ends of this bridge with a gentle declivity. It is called the Châr-Bâgh, or "Four Gardens," and is ornamented with a number of royal palaces and gardens on the right and left. On one side of the avenue to the south of the river, stands the beautiful suburb of Abbas-abad; on the other, that of Julfâ, the residence of an Armenian colony, which was protected by a high but thin wall. The army assembled at the capital was at least double the number of the Affghans; and it seemed evident, that even if the rash invaders succeeded in obtaining possession of the suburbs, Julfâ and Abbas-abad, they could hardly hope, without cannon, to force the bridges by which they must approach the city. Under these circumstances, it was requisite that all the terrors of superstitious weakness should combine with imprudence and cowardice, before an empire could be conquered by an enemy so weak in number, so inefficient in resources, and so far removed from every prospect of aid or support.

Sultan Hussein, distracted by alarm, threw himself entirely upon his nobles; who were completely divided in their opinions about the measures to be pursued. Mahomed Kooli Khan, the prime minister, wisely suggested that they should act on the defensive. The repulse of the Affghans at Kerman and Yezd showed, he argued, that they were unskilled in sieges, and only formidable in the field, where their valour and experience must give them a great advantage over new levies, chiefly drawn from the unwarlike populace of a luxurious capital. This sensible opinion met with

some attention; but it was overruled by that of an omrah called the Waly of Arabia, from being chief of the Arab tribes subject to Persia. This nobleman inveighed with virulence against the cowardice of the prime minister's counsel. "If," said he, "a plunderer, like Mahmood, at the head of a few despicable Affghans, is to insult the majesty of the throne of Persia, by besieging the capital, and we are to remain trembling within our walls, we should better at once give him possession of a kingdom which we have not spirit to maintain. Let us do this; or march out instantly and vindicate our honour by destroying these vile enemies, who owe every moment of their existence to our disgraceful prudence." The Persian character in all its varieties has one predominant feature; an over-weening vanity distinguishes the whole nation. The speech of the waly aroused this feeling: even the timid king, who had at first approved of his prime minister's advice, declared his opinion that an action should be fought. But at the very moment of taking this resolution, he adopted a measure which made success almost impossible. The command of the forces was divided between the two nobles, whose opinions had been so opposite.

When the royal army marched out of Isfahan, it consisted of more than fifty thousand men, attended by a train of twenty-four pieces of cannon. On its reaching Goolnâbâd, nothing could be more striking than the contrast between it and the enemy. The Persian soldiers looked fresh and showy; all their equipments, the tents in which they reposed, the dresses they wore, the gold and enamelled furniture of their sleek horses, were rich and splendid. The Affghans had hardly a tent to cover them; their horses were lean from fatigue; the men were clothed in tatters, and tanned by the rays of the sun; throughout their whole camp, it was observed, nothing glittered "but their swords and lances."

The right wing of the Persians was commanded by Roostum Khan, general of the royal guards, and brother to the Prince of Georgia: the left was under the prime minister.

The Waly of Arabia joined his Arabs to the right wing; and the Waly of Laristan[k] reinforced the left with five hundred of his followers. These two wings were entirely of horse; their numbers were about thirty thousand men: the infantry and artillery were near twenty thousand. They were stationed in the rear, forming a separate line, the front of which faced the open space between the two wings.

Mahmood had drawn up his small army in four divisions. The right was under Amân-ûllâh Khan. He led the next, which formed the centre, in person, and was supported by a body of select warriors; while his left was covered by a division of new levies, principally Guebers, under a chief[l] of that religion. The Affghans, as has been stated, had no cannon; but a hundred zumbooruks, or camel-swivels, more than supplied this want. At the commencement of the action, they were kept in the rear of the right wing. Mahmood rode through his ranks, mounted on an elephant, and called on his followers by their former fame, and by all their future hopes of wealth and glory, to strive for victory. "The plunder of Isfahan," he exclaimed, "is your reward, if you conquer; if you are defeated, you have no retreat, and you must then meet death, embittered by disgrace[m]." He exhorted the Guebers to remember their ancestors and their wrongs, and to seize the opportunity of glory and revenge.

The action was commenced by the right wing of the Persians, who threw the left of the enemy into some confusion; while the Waly of Arabia, making a rapid circuit with his own corps, turned their flank, and fell on their camp, where his followers were so occupied with plunder, that they made no further effort; and he perhaps saw with satisfaction the left wing, under his rival the prime minister, thrown into

[k] Aly Murdân Khan.

[l] He is called Nasser-ûllah, which is a Mahomedan name, and would lead us to conclude, that he had adopted the faith of those whose standard he had joined. Hanway, however, always calls him a Parsee, or Gueber.

[m] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 163.

disorder. It had charged the right wing of the Affghans, commanded by Amân-ûllâh Khan, an experienced soldier, who pretended to fly. The exulting Persians pursued, till the opening ranks of the enemy displayed a line of a hundred kneeling camels, with a swivel on the back of each. These were levelled with so deliberate an aim, that all the front rank of the charging column fell; and, before the Persians had recovered from the confusion they were thus thrown into, they were attacked by the Affghan horse, and completely routed. Amân-ûllâh pursued them to some distance; then wheeling, came upon the rear of the Persian cannon [n], which he found unprotected; and having cut down the gunners, ordered his men to point them at the line of infantry in the centre. The Persians were so panic-struck and astonished at a discharge from their own artillery, that they fled in confusion. The route soon became general; and many of the chiefs, as is usual in armies so composed, returned to their native provinces [o] with all the followers they could collect. The actual loss of the Persians did not exceed two thousand men killed; that of the enemy was as great. The Affghans feared to pursue them, dreading some stratagem [p]; but it is probable they were also occupied in plundering the rich camp which the Persians had abandoned.

The terror into which Isfahan was thrown cannot be described. The weak king had recourse to his usual expedient of assembling the nobles and demanding their advice. His own opinion was, to leave his capital, and draw toge-

[n] We are told in one account, that twenty-five pieces of cannon were taken which had not been once discharged.—KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, p. 204.

[o] The Waly of Arabia has been accused of acting treacherously on this unfortunate day. This is the only point on which there appears any essential difference between Krusinski and Hanway. The latter assumes, that the Waly of Arabia was a traitor; while Krusinski asserts, that the calumnies against him for his conduct in this action are false; and he expressly says, "that if the Persian general had done his duty as well as the Waly at Goolnâbâd, the Affghans would not have conquered Persia."—KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, p. 204.

[p] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 205.

ther the forces of his dominion. This step would, he conceived, even conduce to the safety of Isfahan, as, from the removal of the court and the treasure, it would cease to be of importance to the Affghans; while they would be harassed and distressed by the operations of the royal army. This opinion, which appeared reasonable, was supported by the prime minister and several other nobles: but the Waly of Arabia argued, that the evacuation of his capital would be deemed a disgraceful flight; and that a monarch who had not fortitude to bear up against so trifling a reverse, would soon find himself abandoned by all, and would discover too late that, by being the first to desert his post, he had set the example for his subjects to forsake theirs. These arguments prevailed; and preparations were made for defending the capital. The walls were repaired, new batteries erected, and the bridges fortified.

The Armenians of Julfâ had received every indulgence from Abbas the Great. He had not only exempted them from servitude, but had allowed them a kâlânter, or chief magistrate of their own nation, to whom a respectable rank was assigned at court. He had also lent to the most industrious merchants large sums from the royal treasury, to enable them to carry on an extensive trade; and, to secure them from the injustice of his subjects, he had declared them entitled to the protection of the law of retaliation. His liberal policy had produced the end he expected; and this colony began, even in his lifetime, to flourish in a manner equal to his most sanguine hopes. It attained still greater prosperity under his successors; but from the commencement of Shah Hussein's reign, a great change took place in their condition. That good-natured but contemptible prince could protect no class of his people; and the Armenians, from their wealth and religion, became an object of attack to the rapacious ministers and bigoted priests of his court. They were not only plundered of their property, their right to the law of retaliation was denied; and more than one decree sanctioned a law, that a Mahomedan who killed

a Christian should not lose his life, but only pay a certain quantity of grain to the family of the deceased[q]. These open attacks on their privileges degraded this race in the estimation of the citizens of Isfahan; and they were consequently exposed to scoffs and insults, more calculated to alienate their minds from the government than the most serious oppression. We can hardly be surprised, therefore, that a weak and timid court should fear a community which it had so deeply injured; and the cruelty of suspicion was aggravated by the mode in which it was displayed. The king was made to declare that he had more reliance on the valour and loyalty of his Armenians, than on any other of his subjects; and he called upon them to form a band for the defence of the royal person. Flattered by such a mark of regard, all who were able to equip themselves paraded next day at the palace: but, instead of being employed, their arms were taken from them; they were informed that they were not to be trusted, and that a party of Persian militia would be sent to defend Julfâ against the enemy, and to guard against the danger from their want of attachment to the state[r]. Neither insult nor injury, however, could force the Armenians to treason; for though they could not but hate and despise this tyranny, they trembled at the consequences of the success of the Affghans. They therefore offered to pay and support any troops sent to defend their town; and when they found the numbers inadequate, they prepared all the means left them to supply the deficiency.

Mahmood appears, for some time after his victory, to have been undecided as to his future operations. He had gained a great battle, with the loss of a few men; and though the Arabs had plundered his camp, the spoil he obtained in that of the Persians far exceeded what he lost. His measures had hitherto been more fortunate than the

[q] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 161.
[r] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 161.

most sanguine could have hoped; yet, as if alarmed at his own success[s], he withdrew into his entrenchments, and actually permitted the Persians to return and draw off some of the cannon they had left on the field. He did not awake from this trance of inaction until his spies satisfied him of the confusion and terror that reigned in Isfahan, when the hope of benefiting thereby dissipated his apprehensions. His first step was to take possession of Ferrâhâbâd, a royal palace, within three miles of the city, which Shah Hussein had built, and surrounded with a strong wall defended by bastions. Had this post been maintained, it might have stopped the enemy for many days; but the garrison were commanded to retreat, and their fears made them so precipitate, that the cannon were abandoned. After seizing Ferrâhâbâd, Mahmood advanced to Julfâ, and immediately assaulted it; but, after an attack of two hours, he only gained a small outwork. The Armenians displayed great valour, and applied to the Waly of Arabia, who had been appointed commander of the army, for fire-arms and assistance. They offered to attack the Affghans, and drive them from the post they occupied. This nobleman, however, refused to support them, and even forbade the prince, Suffee Meerza, to march with a body of horse, to make a diversion in their favour, by attacking one of the enemy's flanks[t]. This conduct, combined with the measure of disarming the Armenians, led many to think that it was designed to sacrifice Julfâ for the safety of the capital; under the notion that the Affghans, in the enjoyment of its wealth, would lose much of their savage ardour. Others accuse the Waly of a secret intercourse with the enemy, while many of the Armenians themselves believed that the bigots around Hussein were not sorry to see a flourishing colony of Christians ruined. But it is ever the fate of weakness and folly to

[s] Krusinski assures us, that he entertained a design of retreating to Kerman, which was only prevented by the premature offer of a large sum of money by Shah Sultan Hussein.

[t] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 162.

have their motives mistaken; and a proceeding, ascribed by different classes to policy, treachery, or fanaticism, in all probability had its source in the consternation and irresolution which such scenes produce in timid and undecided minds.

On the night following that on which the enemy carried the outwork, a small aperture was made in the lofty, but thin mud wall, which surrounded Julfâ[u]. An elephant was conducted to the spot, and, we are told, soon widened it into a practical breach, which the Affghans took possession of, with a resolution to storm the town at day-break; but the Armenians foreseeing their intention, offered to capitulate. The terms were soon settled. The inhabitants agreed to pay seventy thousand tomâns, to save themselves from being plundered. An imposition of a more ignominious and cruel nature was added by Mahmood, who demanded that fifty of the best born and most beautiful virgins of Julfâ should be brought to him[x]. The victims were selected, and sent in their richest clothes to the Palace of Ferrâhâbâd, where the Affghan prince resided. He chose a few for his own haram, and distributed the rest among his principal commanders. The Armenians, living in the midst of a sensual nation, had been accustomed to regard the honour of their families with jealous care, and nothing could exceed their horror and dismay at this flagrant act of violence. The men seemed absorbed in silent grief; mothers shrieked with frantic wildness over their disgraced daughters; and the sad victims themselves gave loose to a despair, which rescued many from their fate by terminating their existence[y]. The Affghans, savage as they were, could not witness such a scene unmoved; many generously restored the afflicted maidens, and others accepted of a small ransom, so that very few remained unreleased; and even these, after a time, were restored to their distracted parents. The con-

[u] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 163.
[x] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 222.
[y] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 163.

tribution of money was levied with the greatest rigour; and a delay in the payment not only led to the seizure of all the merchandise in Julfâ, but occasioned several of the principal inhabitants being put to the most cruel torture.

No effort was made by the Persians to disturb the Affghans in these proceedings; and Mahmood, encouraged by this inactivity, called his soldiers to a more important conquest. His army occupied the whole southern bank of the river from Julfâ to Abbas-abad. The royal edifices and beautiful gardens with which Shah Abbas the Great and his successors had decorated this portion of their capital, furnished quarters for the barbarians, and stables for their horses; and the labours of an age fell to ruin at the touch of a savage race, who beheld these magnificent abodes with contempt and indifference.

The centre of the Affghan position was the grand avenue of the four gardens, which has already been described. Mahmood immediately commenced his operations against the city. In his first assault of the outworks, his troops were repulsed; but alarmed lest he should thus lose the advantage of that terror on which he so much relied, he two days afterwards (on the twenty-third of March) headed a party of his bravest men in an attack on one of the principal bridges. The charge was so desperate, that Isfahan would have been carried, but for the valour of Ahmed Aga, a white eunuch, who, after a severe contest, forced the Affghans to fall back to their entrenchments[1]. Mahmood was so discouraged at this failure, that he made overtures for a peace[2]. He required that Candahar, Khorassan, and Kerman should be granted to him and his heirs in independent sovereignty; and that the king should give him one of his daughters in marriage, with a portion of fifty

[1] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 229.

[2] Krusinski states, that this negotiation had been opened before he took Julfâ, and that he only repeated his former offers.—KRUSINSKI'S *Memoir*, p. 230.

thousand tomâns[b]. These proposals were rejected; and the Affghan prince, changing his plan, determined, as the first step toward reducing the capital, to ravage and destroy the country around it. The districts immediately surrounding Isfahan were perhaps the most fruitful in the world; and art had done her utmost to assist nature in improving this charming country. The pure waters of the Zainderood, carried through innumerable canals, fertilized every field, and watered every garden. Not a spot was uncultivated, except what was occupied by towns and villages, or by seats of noblemen vying in splendour with the palaces of their monarch. This fair region, so favoured by nature, by art, and by fortune, was doomed by Mahmood to complete ruin. The task occupied his army more than a month; but nearly a century has not repaired what their barbarity effected; and the fragments of broken canals, sterile fields, and mounds of ruins, still mark the zeal with which they laboured in this great work of destruction.

After supplying his camp with an ample store of forage and provisions, Mahmood directed the remainder found in the districts he had plundered to be burnt. This compelled the inhabitants of the country to fly to the capital; they were incautiously admitted by a weak government, which mistook numbers for strength: but though this produced some scarcity, it was obvious that Isfahan could never be reduced to extreme distress, so long as it was only partially invested. An attack was therefore made on another of the bridges, which proved more successful than the first. The party of Georgians to whom it was intrusted are described as having been intoxicated and incapable of resistance; and before a reinforcement could be sent, the Affghans were in possession of the bridge, and a considerable part of their army had passed, and spread themselves round the town. This event, which diminished their hopes of future supply, rendered the inhabitants of Isfahan desperate: they cla-

[b] One hundred thousand pounds.

morously demanded to be led to the attack; but no advantage was taken of their ardour[c]: and this inactivity, with the loss of two convoys of provisions, one of which was advancing under the chief of the Bukhteeâree tribe, and the other in charge of the troops of the Waly of Laristan, plunged the whole city into the most gloomy horror. The success of Amân-ûllâh Khan[d], who with a select corps of Affghan horse, covered the siege, in intercepting these convoys, and defeating the troops that accompanied them, seemed to have decided the fate of Isfahan, when an event occurred that gave a gleam of hope to the most desponding.

A small fortified village, called Ben-Isfahan[e], stands on the declivity of a low hill, within three miles of the capital: a number of the inhabitants of the surrounding country had taken shelter within its walls, and their strength encouraged them to frequent attacks upon straggling parties of the Affghans. On the return of Amân-ûllâh, after the captive of the convoy under the brother of the Waly of Laristan, the men of Ben-Isfahan sallied upon his corps, who were scattered and loaded with spoil, slew a number of them, and retook a great part of their plunder. Mahmood, who saw this attack, galloped with a body of horse to the relief of his soldiers; but the brave peasants did not hesitate to meet his charge[f], and the proud Affghan was forced to retreat with a heavy loss. Many of his men fell; more were made prisoners: among the latter were his uncle, his brother, and two cousins. Though he felt the disgrace his arms had sustained most poignantly, his solicitude for the safety of his relations overcame every other consideration; and he sent a mission into Isfahan to request Shah

[c] Hanway ascribes this to the treachery of the Waly of Arabia; others to timid prudence: but it probably originated in a natural fear of trusting in action a tumultuous and unwarlike populace.

[d] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 169.

[e] This term literally signifies "the child of Isfahan." This village is now better known by the name of Isfahanuk, or "Little Isfahan."

[f] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 172.

Hussein would interfere to save their lives. That weak but humane monarch immediately deputed Meerza-Rahim, a confidential officer, to Ben-Isfahan, with a command that the Affghan prisoners should be spared; but he was too late. He remonstrated, when he saw their mangled bodies, on the precipitation of the act, but was told that it was a necessary and just retaliation on an enemy who had massacred in cold blood every man taken with the convoys of provisions.

When intelligence of the fate of his relations was carried to Mahmood, it threw him into a paroxysm of rage: he ordered all his captives to be slain, and commanded that his troops should in future give no quarter. But this fit of passion soon gave way to one of despondency[g]; and after strengthening his post at the bridge of Abbas-abad, and such others as appeared of most consequence, he retired with the main body of his army to Ferrâhâbâd. It was imagined by all, that he entertained the design of raising the siege; and it was evident that his army became every day more discontented, and less sanguine in their hopes of success. Under these circumstances, the inhabitants of Isfahan looked with anxiety to their monarch; and their hopes were raised to the highest pitch, when they understood that a plan was in contemplation for attacking all the posts occupied by the Affghans. The king appeared resolved upon this; and he was encouraged by a proposal from the Armenians, who offered to rise upon the garrison of Julfâ[h] the moment the Persians commenced the attack. All these fair hopes, however, were destroyed by the fears or treachery of the waly, who, seeing he could only repress this general ardour by pretending to encourage it, marched out of the city with a declared intention of fighting: but under various pretexts, he delayed coming to action; and the hopes which had been raised so high, were sunk lower

[g] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 170.
[h] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 230.

than ever by the intelligence that Mahmood had captured another large convoy of provisions.

The fate of the capital seemed now certain. Vâctângâh, the Prince of Georgia, whose aid had been earnestly solicited, appeared to be the only person that could relieve it; and the intelligence that he still, with a stubborn adherence to his vow, refused to serve his sovereign, was received as the final doom of Isfahan and of the empire. The king, who had proclaimed his fourth son, Tâmâsp Meerza, his heir[1], commanded him to endeavour, with a small body of select horse, to escape to the provinces. He forced his way past a body of Affghans, and hastened to Kazveen, where he exerted himself in raising troops for the relief of his father, but without success; for even the chiefs of the tribe of Shah-Sevund, who were peculiarly bound to defend the Suffavean dynasty, pretended that, unless the king summoned them in person, it was not their duty to attend; and Tâmâsp was reduced to the necessity of informing his father, that all his efforts to collect a force had failed.

The famine in Isfahan, which had commenced soon after the siege began, increased every day, and the populace became at last furious and unmanageable; but still their desire was not to surrender, but to be led against the enemy. In the beginning of July affairs drew to a crisis. A convoy approached, which it was evident must be cut off, unless an attempt was made to protect it. The inhabitants of the city surrounded the haram in which Hussein was immured, and insisted on his coming forth and leading them to battle. He commanded his officers to inform them that they should have an answer next day; but they persisted, and did not disperse until the eunuchs who guarded the palace, had fired several volleys of musquetry upon them. A general

[1] The princes of the blood who were senior to Tâmâsp were shut up in the seraglio. Hanway states, that Sultan Hussein had fourteen sons and four daughters: the eldest, Abbas Meerza, he describes as a prince at whom, on account of his high-spirited character, the court favourites had taken great alarm.—HANWAY, vol. ii. p. 172.

insurrection seemed likely to be the result of this extraordinary proceeding, had not the gallant Ahmed Aga, who has been before mentioned, saved his sovereign by directing the fury of the mob[l] against the enemy. He placed himself, with a small corps of veterans at their head, and made so impetuous an attack upon the Affghans, that he gained some of their principal posts, and would have maintained them, if he had received support from the troops under the immediate command of the waly[m]; but he was basely deserted; and when he came before the king to represent what had occurred, he found the royal ear filled with calumnies against himself. He was accused of rashness, and of interfering with affairs the conduct of which belonged to another. The brave eunuch listened with patience to the accusations of his monarch; but he told him, before he retired, that he was the dupe of a treacherous noble, who abused his confidence. Having performed this last duty to his unworthy master, Ahmed Aga went to his home. He was found next morning dead in his bed, and it was universally believed that he had taken poison. His death[n] caused a joy in the camp of the Affghans, equal to the

[l] In Persia every man is armed with a sword and dagger, and many have fire-arms.

[m] According to Hanway, Ahmed was so enraged at the conduct of the corps of the Waly of Arabia, that he ordered his troops to fire on them. The confusion which this created was soon perceived by the Affghans, who, being reinforced from their lines, drove back the Persians with great loss into the town. The weak king attended as usual only to the representations of the artful waly; and not only censured Ahmed Aga for his rashness in attacking the enemy, but, on account of his having fired on the Arabs, removed him from his high command of governor of the town. He adds, that the eunuch only survived his disgrace two days, and that it was generally believed he swallowed poison.

[n] This event is said to have opened the eyes of Hussein to the real character of the Waly of Arabia; and he anxiously desired to deprive him of his high office, but in the extremity to which affairs were reduced he could find no person to accept the charge. Looft Aly Khan, the brother of his former prime minister, who had been disgraced at Shiraz, was solicited by his monarch to command the army, but refused the dangerous dignity.

consternation it created in the city: all agreed that Hussein had lost the only man whose experience and valour could have saved the empire.

Soon after, the king sent a deputation to Mahmood, offering to accept the terms he had before rejected. "The monarch of Persia," said the proud Affghan, "offers me nothing that is his. Himself and all his family are within my power. He is not now master of the three provinces he so generously desires to bestow upon me: but if he were, the question now at issue between us concerns not them, but his whole kingdom." When this negotiation was pending, intelligence was received that Malik Mahmood, the Governor of Seistan, with a well-appointed force, was marching to the relief of the capital; and the news of his having encamped with ten thousand men at Goolnâbâd, led the inhabitants of Isfahan to believe their miseries at an end: but their joy vanished, when they learnt that the Affghan prince had succeeded in forming a friendship with the chief from whom they anxiously looked for support. Some rich presents, and a grant of Khorassan, which with Seistan was to form a large independent kingdom, to be enjoyed by him and his successors, were the bribes which overcame the virtue and loyalty of this chief; and having accepted the alliance of the Affghans, he marched to take possession of his new dominions. The despair of the Persians at his retreat, was even greater than their joy at his advance. Their condition appeared quite hopeless. The spirit of the people and army was gone. The royal treasures were exhausted. The sums borrowed from the wealthy inhabitants[o] were expended; all the vessels of gold and silver which the king possessed had been melted down, and the produce disposed of. The troops had neither pay nor provisions[p]; and the inhabitants, whose con-

[o] The Dutch alone lent him three hundred and forty thousand crowns.

[p] A Mahomedan author of respectability, who was in Isfahan during the siege, says, that a small loaf of coarse bread sold for four gold mohurs, (eight pounds,) and that the flesh of asses was esteemed a dainty.

dition had throughout been worse than that of the soldiers, perished every day in thousands. Contemporary writers inform us, that the Affghan prince, satisfied from the moment the chief of Seistan retreated, that he could dictate what terms he chose, was led by an inhuman policy to procrastinate the siege. His army did not amount to twenty thousand men; he expected no immediate reinforcement; and though confident of success in an attack, he dreaded any further diminution of his force; he also feared that in the confusion of a general assault, his soldiers might seize that plunder which he wished to appropriate. It is asserted by one author that Mahmood, though desirous of reducing the population of Isfahan, wished to avoid the reproach of a massacre. Swayed by these motives, he resolved on a course more terrible in its effects than the most savage violence. Under various pretexts, he protracted the negotiation for the surrender of the city for nearly two months, during which period the blockade was maintained with increased vigilance. The situation to which the inhabitants were reduced by this delay was dreadful. The respectable author on whose authority almost all the events of this memorable siege have been given, has described the scene of horror in glowing colours. The flesh of horses, camels, and mules was so dear[q], that none but the king, some of the nobles, and the wealthiest citizens, could purchase it[r]. Though the Persians abhor dogs as unclean, they ate greedily of them, as well as of other forbidden animals, so long as they were to be obtained. After these supplies were gone, they fed on the leaves and bark of trees, and on leather, which they softened by boiling; and when this sad resource was exhausted, they began to devour human

[q] Towards the end of August, a horse's carcass sold for a thousand crowns.

[r] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 250. His description of the condition of the inhabitants of Isfahan is confirmed by several witnesses of this scene. The agent of the East India Company, who writes to his superiors at Gombroon, under date the 21st of October, states, that their situation, "between sword and famine," was horrible.—*East India Records.*

flesh. Men, with their eyes sunk, their countenances livid, and their bodies feeble and emaciated with hunger, were seen in crowds, endeavouring to protract a wretched existence by cutting pieces from the bodies of those who had just expired. In many instances the citizens slew each other; and parents murdered their children to furnish the horrid meal. Some, more virtuous, poisoned themselves and family, that they might escape the guilt of preserving life by such means. The streets, the squares, the royal gardens, were covered with carcases; and the river was so corrupted by dead bodies, that it was hardly possible to drink its waters.

These evils were increased by the cruelty of the Affghans, who put to death, without distinction of age or sex, all such as tried to escape from this scene of calamity[s]. In a climate less pure and salubrious, the air must have been infected, and distemper would have destroyed those whom famine had spared; but no contagion arose, and the miserable remnants of the population were reserved to witness the further disgrace and humiliation of their king and country. On the 21st of October[t], the king came out of his palace clad in deep mourning: he walked, attended by the nobles of his court, through the principal streets: he bewailed aloud the misfortunes of his reign; imputed them to the bad advice he had received; proclaimed his intention to abdicate; and tried to console the wretched multitude by whom he was surrounded, with the hope of more happiness under a better government. This language from a prince whose faults (dreadful as their effects had been) were allied to our best virtues, whose kindness of heart, weak lenity, and extreme gentleness of temper, had brought him, after a

[s] Meerza Mehdy, the author of the History of Nâdir Shâh, in the introduction to his history, gives a full description of these horrors.

[t] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 179. A letter from the agent of the East India Company, dated the 21st of October, 1722, fixes the date of the surrender on the 12th of October; the Affghans, he says, took possession next day.—*East India Records.*

reign of twenty-eight years, to the sad and humble condition in which he then appeared, excited a strong and universal sympathy: men forgot their own sufferings in contemplating those of their sovereign. The heart of Hussein would have been wounded deeply by their reproaches; he found, in the tears which they shed over his fate, all the consolation that his situation admitted of.

The day after that on which Hussein took this solemn leave of his subjects, he signed a capitulation, by which he resigned his crown to Mahmood; and on the 23rd of October, leaving Isfahan, attended by some of his nobles and three hundred of his troops, he moved toward the Affghan camp. His ungenerous enemy could not refrain from insulting the fallen monarch; and the melancholy procession was commanded to halt within a short distance of the tents, on the pretext that Mahmood was asleep[u]. After this delay, which, according to the usage of the country, would have been degrading to one of his subjects, he was at last permitted to proceed to the palace of Ferrâhâbâd, and introduced into a great hall or saloon, where he found his conqueror seated: he had reached the centre of this room before the haughty Affghan rose to receive him. Hussein addressed him in the following words: "Son, since the great Sovereign of the Universe does not will that I should reign any longer, and the moment has come which he has appointed for thy ascending the throne of Persia, I resign the empire to thee. May thy reign be prosperous!" After this speech he took the toorâh, or royal plume of feathers, from his turban, and gave it to the vizier of Mahmood; but that prince refused to accept it from any but the monarch to whom it belonged. The meek Hussein rose, took it from the minister, and, while his arrogant enemy remained in his seat, placed the rich emblem of royal power in his turban, and exclaimed, "Reign in peace!" After the usual refreshments of tea and coffee had been served, Mahmood deigned

[u] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 179.

for the first time to speak to his captive. "Such," he observed, "is the instability of human grandeur. God disposes of empires as he pleases: he takes them from one to give to another; but I promise ever to consider you as my father, and to undertake nothing without your advice[x]."

The degraded Hussein was compelled next day to attend another ceremony at his palace in Isfahan, where he did homage, with all his nobles, to the Affghan sovereign of Persia. After this public submission, he was confined[y] in a small palace, and remained there seven years, when a reverse of fortune threatening their downfall, led his enemies to put an end to his existence.

The Suffavean dynasty may be said to have terminated with Hussein. His son, Tâmâsp, assumed the title of king, and struggled for a few years with his fate; but a weak, effeminate, and debauched youth, was unsuited to such times; and he only merits a place in history, since his name furnished a pretext for the celebrated Nâdir to lay the foundations of his great power.

[x] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 180.

[y] His confinement cannot have been very severe, if we are to judge from the complaints which he made of his condition. He bewailed the cruelty of his destiny, because of all his former slaves, only five male servants, and five female favourites, were left to console his solitude.—*Persian MSS.*

Chapter XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AFFGHAN MONARCHS WHO ASSUMED THE TITLE OF KINGS OF PERSIA; WITH A CURSORY VIEW OF THE INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY BY THE TURKS AND RUSSIANS.

The reign of the Affghan monarchs, Mahmood and Ashrâff, over Persia, occupies a short but eventful period in its history. The first of those sovereigns, though cruel and capricious, showed, in the commencement of his reign, some of the qualities of a good statesman. The moment he became master of Isfahan, he endeavoured to relieve its inhabitants from the miseries of famine. His next care was to establish confidence among his new subjects; and in both of these important objects he succeeded. It appeared to him as dangerous to employ the officers of the Persian government, as to appoint his own to stations with the duties of which they were wholly unacquainted [a]: he ordered, therefore, the Persians he found in office to be continued, but nominated a colleague to each from his own nation: by this arrangement, he had the advantage of the experience of the one, and the fidelity of the other [a]. The only exception to this rule, was the chief judge of the city; to that high situation he appointed an Affghan of such singular piety and rectitude, that the citizens themselves assented to the propriety and justice of his choice. It is natural that con querors and usurpers, whatever benefit they may have derived from treason, should hate and dread those whom they know to be traitors. Every person who had carried on a secret correspondence with the Affghans, or had been false

[a] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 183.

[a] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 260.

to his duty during the siege, was punished by Mahmood[b]; and the Persians with delight saw the Affghan prince avenge the wrongs of their late sovereign. The Waly of Arabia escaped with life, (on account, it was believed, of a vow which the conqueror had made not to kill him;) but he was disgraced, and his possessions in the province of Khuzistan given to his younger brother. The noblemen of the Persian court, who had preserved their fidelity unshaken to Shah Hussein, were those who appeared to be most favoured by the Affghan monarch; and he carried this so far, as publicly to approve the integrity and spirit of Mahomed Kooli Khan, the prime minister, who would not take an oath of allegiance until assured he should never be called upon to act against the prince, Tâmâsp Meerza[c].

The same considerations which made Mahmood endeavour to conciliate the good opinion of his new subjects, induced him to grant every encouragment to the foreigners in Persia. Several European nations at this period had factories at Isfahan and Bunder Abbas: these were confirmed in all their privileges, and the Christian missionaries were allowed full liberty to perform publicly the duties of their religion. But this fair prospect was soon clouded; and events, which excited apprehensions for his own safety in the mind of this monarch, banished all his plans of good government, and rendered him one of the most detestable and cruel tyrants that history has recorded.

It will be necessary to take a short view of the events which appear to have effected this change in the measures of Mahmood. Soon after he took possession of the capital, and the districts in its immediate vicinity, he detached Amân-ûllâh Khan to reduce Kazveen. The force sent with this chief, amounting to six thousand men[d], marched in the depth of winter, when the few troops which the Prince

[b] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 258.
[c] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 184.
[d] MSS. of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.

Tâmâsp had been able to collect were dispersed in quarters. It consequently met with no resistance; Kashan, Koom, and all the other cities in its route, surrendered, and Kazveen followed their example. The joy which the news of this easy conquest gave to Mahmood, was checked by intelligence which reached him at the same moment, that an officer[e] he had sent with a convoy of treasure to Candahar to raise new levies among the Affghan tribes, had been attacked, defeated, and plundered by the governor[f] of a petty fortress in Seistan: and he was also embarrassed at this period by an embassy from Peter the Great of Russia, which had been deputed to Shah Hussein, but addressed him as the actual ruler of Persia, and demanded redress for wrongs which, it was pretended, the Russians had sustained from the Persian government.

The fact was, the czar had resolved to take advantage of the confusions in Persia to extend the commerce of his kingdom, by making himself master of the western shores of the Caspian. For this purpose, he had collected an army of thirty thousand of his best soldiers, which was joined by some Cossacks and Calmooks at Astracan. The injuries which his subjects had sustained from the Lesghees at Shâmâkee, and from the Khan of Khaurizm, who had plundered a caravan of Russians coming from China, were the pretexts for these preparations. He went through the form of calling upon the ruler of Persia to redress the wrongs of which he complained; and, when told by Mahmood that he had no power to control either the Usbegs or the Lesghees[g], Peter, who commanded his army in person, sailed from the Volga on the 29th of July, and arrived on the

[e] Moollah Moosâh was the name of this officer. The sum he had in charge was a hundred and fifty thousand tomâns, nearly three hundred thousand pounds.

[f] The name of this governor was Meerza Ismail, and the fort was called Bandah.

[g] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 186, 7.

coast of Dâghestan[h] on the 4th of August. His first step was to issue a proclamation, in which he declared that he had no design of enlarging his territories, but only meant to protect his subjects in their commerce. He proceeded along the coast, defeated some chiefs by whom he was opposed, and took possession of Derbund[i]. He confirmed the governor of that town in his charge, but left two thousand Russian troops to garrison the citadel. After this conquest, the czar returned to Astracan, which he reached in October, having signified his intention to prosecute his plans in the commencement of the ensuing fair season.

While the Russians threatened the north-western provinces of Persia, that empire was exposed to a still more formidable attack in another quarter. The Court of Con-

[h] We meet with a full account of Peter's expedition in the Travels of Mr. P. H. Bruce, who accompanied it. The motives which led the Emperor of Russia to undertake this enterprise, are stated by this writer to have been the desire of avenging the insults and wrongs which his subjects, settled on the shores of the Caspian, had suffered, particularly in the plunder of Shâmâkee; and a wish to succour the King of Persia, who offered important cessions in return for his aid against the Affghans. Part of the expedition embarked at Moscow, and falling down the river which flows through that city, entered the larger stream of the Occa, at the town of Columnia; a month after, they arrived at the city of Muni Novogorod, which stands at the confluence of the Occa and the Volga, where the whole of the army destined for Persia was assembled. From thence they proceeded down the Volga to the Caspian, and, after a short and prosperous voyage, thirty-three thousand infantry were landed in Dâghestan, where they were soon joined by a considerable body of cavalry that had marched by land from Astracan.

[i] The following account is given of this place by Mr. Bruce:

"The city of Derbent, in the province of Shirwan, lies in 41° 51′ north latitude, and is situated on the shore of the Caspian: the walls are carried into ten feet depth of water, to prevent any one's passing that way: its length, from east to west, is nearly five wersts; but its breadth is not proportionable. It is not only the frontier of Persia, lying on its utmost confines on this side, but may, with great propriety, be called the gate of it, reaching from the mountain into the sea. The city is divided into three distinct quarters: the castle, situated upon the top of the mountain, had always a strong Persian garrison. The second, and principal, reaches from the foot of the mountain to the lower town, which makes the third, and reaches to the sea side."—P. H. Bruce's *Travels*, p. 283.

stantinople, as soon as it heard of the situation into which Persia was thrown by the Affghan invasion, hastened to take advantage of its fallen condition. A large army was assembled on the frontier, and was already on its march to Hamadan, when all alarm at foreign enemies was banished from the mind of Mahmood, by an occurrence which more immediately threatened his power.

The inhabitants of Kazveen are chiefly descended from those Turkish tribes which have long pastured their flocks on the plains in the vicinity. They almost all either cultivate the soil, or carry on commerce with the shores of the Caspian. These habits of life render them hardy and robust; and they have preserved the rude and ungovernable spirit of their ancestors. Among its other privileges, Kazveen has always boasted one of an extraordinary nature. It may be termed a right of insurrection[k], which they resort to in cases of violence and oppression. The lower orders act on these occasions under the direction of the magistrates, who seldom proceed to this extremity except when they have no other hope of relief. They could expect no redress, by application to Mahmood, from the cruelty and injustice of those he had appointed to rule them; and, besides the oppression they suffered, their religion and prejudices led them to regard the Affghans with horror[l]. In consequence of these feelings, the magistrates of Kazveen met secretly; and on the evening of the 8th of January, the signal for a Lootee Bâzâr, or "general insurrection," was given. The Affghans were at once attacked in every quarter. Amân-ûllâh hastened to the Mydân, or great square, in front of the palace, where he found most of his troops assembled; and, though wounded at an early period, he made every effort that a brave soldier could to subdue the

[k] They term this Lootee Bázár, which literally signifies "plundering the bazars, or shops;" but it implies no more than a general rising of the inhabitants. This ancient usage is still preserved, and will be noticed hereafter.

[l] MSS. of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hásseen.

tumult; but he was overpowered by numbers, and compelled to take shelter in the palace; from whence he with difficulty escaped by a private road that led to one of the principal gates. The loss of the Affghans was about two thousand men, besides all their property. They were forced to retreat to Isfahan; and they suffered so severely on the march from the inclemency of the season, that not more than half reached that capital.

Ashrâff, who had accompanied Amân-ûllâh, separated from him on the retreat, and proceeded to Candahar with three hundred men. He appears to have anticipated the downfall of Mahmood: for the example of Kazveen had been followed by Khonsâr [m], and several other towns; and the dispirited Affghans retired from every quarter to Isfahan, where their prince was received with a sullen gloom, that foreboded the dreadful means he contemplated to avert the dangers by which he saw himself surrounded.

The Affghan prince was certainly in a critical situation. His army was reduced to about fifteen thousand men. With this small force he had to maintain himself in a great kingdom, by the inhabitants of which he and his people were detested, not only on account of the ravages they had committed, but from the difference of their language, their manners, and their religion. When the reputation of his arms was at the highest, these considerations had great force upon his mind, and rendered him wavering and undecided even in the moment of victory: now that he saw his bravest troops disheartened, and his enemies elated with triumph, he appears to have become distracted with fear. The male population of Isfahan and its suburbs alone outnumbered the Affghans in a proportion of more than twenty to one. The probable revolt of the capital seemed the most

[m] This beautiful town, which lies about ninety-two miles to the north-east of Isfahan, is still in a very flourishing state. It stands in a fine and well-watered valley, which is six miles long and three broad, and is almost entirely covered with gardens.

immediate danger, and Mahmood resolved to remove it by means which could only have occurred to a mind as cowardly as it was cruel and savage.

On the day of Amân-ûllâh's return, all the Persian ministers and principal lords, except one or two[n], were invited to a feast. About three hundred came; the moment they arrived, the signal was given for their massacre[o]: not one escaped: the tyrant was so relentless, that he even refused mercy to a youth of twelve years of age, the son of the Waly of Georgia, who had fled for protection to one of the Affghan chiefs, by whom he had been adopted. The bodies were then exposed in the grand square before the palace, that the inhabitants might see and tremble. But a more horrid tragedy was yet to be acted. It is the nature of guilt to seek safety in greater crime. It was thought that children might hereafter desire to revenge the blood of their fathers; and the day after this massacre, the sons of the murdered nobles, amounting to upwards of two hundred, were led from their schools to a field without the city, where they were all inhumanly slaughtered. Mahmood pretended that the nobles had conspired against his life; but his real design of reducing the number of his enemies by extirpation was soon developed[p]. He had taken three thousand of the guards of Shah Hussein into pay: he directed that they should be peculiarly well treated; and, as a mark of favour, commanded that a dinner should be dressed for them in one of the squares of the palace. The moment they were seated a party of Affghans fell upon them, and not one was spared[q]. This bloody act was only the commencement of fresh horrors. The Affghans were ordered to put

[n] The prime minister, Mahomed Kooli Khan, was spared, because his brother had assisted the Affghans at Kazveen; and Looft Aly Khan was put to death on this occasion.

[o] This dreadful massacre took place on the twenty-fifth of January, 1723. —KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, p. 263.

[p] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 264.

[q] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 264.

to death every Persian who had ever been in the service of the former government[r]. This cruelty effected what the tyrant desired, the depopulation of the city; it was left, after fifteen days, during which this massacre lasted, with very few males of a mature age; and even these were obliged to fly by a proclamation that all were to depart from the capital, except a body of Persian youth, whom Mahmood purposed to train in the habits and usages of his own nation.

The inhabitants of Isfahan were chiefly tradesmen and manufacturers, and that city had long been the residence of a luxurious and effeminate court. Its men have always been accounted the most unwarlike in Persia; but it must have been the accumulation of miseries that reduced them to so degraded a state of mind during these scenes of blood and horror. It was common, we are told, to see an Affghan leading three and four Persians to execution; and though death was certain, such was the cowardly despondency of the whole population, that no example occurred of a victim even struggling with his fate[s]. Mahmood now threw off the mask of moderation and justice he had before put on. All ranks were pillaged: nor did the factories of foreign nations escape; both the English and Dutch suffered, but particularly the latter, who had amassed a large sum by selling sugar during the siege, at an exorbitant rate[t]. Mahmood forced them to reveal where their treasures were concealed, and took from them to the amount of four hundred thousand crowns. The Indians settled at Isfahan were also plundered; and the Armenians were not only forced to pay another contribution, but several of their chief magistrates were put to death.

Relieved, by these dreadful measures, from his fears regarding the inhabitants of Isfahan, Mahmood proceeded to reduce the country in its neighbourhood. The brave inha-

[r] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 190.
[s] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 190.
[t] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 192.

bitants of Ben-Isfahan still resisted his arms; and that village, after a gallant defence, made an honourable capitulation, which was guaranteed by the principal Affghan chiefs. Mahmood, who feared openly to violate such a compact, employed secret agents to beguile them into a sedition, that might justify him in satiating his vengeance upon those who had murdered his relations. But the honest peasants, as sincere in their allegiance after they had surrendered as they had been before in their hostility, seized his agents, and sent them bound to Isfahan. The prince was so pleased with this, that he forgave all they had done; and some months afterwards they repaid his confidence by seizing Looft Aly Khan; who, when he fled from court, took shelter in their village.

An effort was made by Mahmood to repeople Isfahan; and some Kurdish tribes were invited to occupy the vacant houses. As they were Soonees, it was expected that a similarity of religion would render them more attached to the Affghan government than the other inhabitants of Persia [*]. Many of these Kurds were also taken into the army, which required recruits, as but few soldiers had come from Candahar; from whence, however, the families of all the Affghans in Persia had been brought by Mahmood, who found, before he adopted this measure, that desertions were so frequent, as to threaten a serious diminution of his small numbers. Aided by his new levies, Mahmood succeeded in making himself master of some of the principal cities in Irak [1]; in almost all a part of the inhabitants were massacred, from the same considerations which led to the horrid scenes of Isfahan.

Nasser-ûllâh, who joined Mahmood at Kerman, when he first entered Persia, had been employed to conquer the province of Fars, and had subdued almost every town in it,

[*] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 268.

[1] Among these were Goolpaigân, Khonsâr, and Kashan. The two latter cities had been surrendered to Amân-ûllâh, but threw off the yoke when that chief was driven out of Kasveen.

except the capital, Shiraz; in an attack on which he was mortally wounded. His death, which happened a few days afterwards, was not more regretted by the Parsees, or Guebers, than by the Affghans, Persians, and Armenians. His own degraded race had found themselves exalted by the character of their chief[y]. The Affghans admired his valour and experience as a soldier; and both the Persians and Armenians lost by his fall a generous and humane protector. The rites at his funeral display the barbarous character of those whom he commanded. His army marched in solemn silence round his body. They then made his slaves and prisoners do the same, and put them all to death at his feet[z]. They also slew his finest horses, whose flesh was dressed, and divided among the soldiers as a funeral feast. Mahmood mourned for his brave general with sincere grief. He erected a monument to his memory; and although Nasser-ûllâh was a Parsee, and two priests of that religion were employed to keep alive a sacred fire where his body was placed, the Mahomedan Affghans reverenced his remains as those of a saint[a].

The command of the troops in Fars was given to Zubberdust Khan, a soldier of fortune, who had risen by his courage and conduct to the highest rank in the Affghan army. Soon after his arrival before Shiraz, a younger brother of Abdûllâ, the Waly of Arabia, endeavoured to throw a large convoy of provisions into the city. He was attacked and defeated; but this gallant chief, in every respect the opposite of his brother, died bravely in the attempt to effect an object which, had he succeeded, would have compelled the Affghans to retire from Fars. The governor of Shiraz, seeing no further prospect of relief, desired to capitulate: but

[y] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 274.

[z] Krusinski affirms that this is the usage among the Affghans. In this, I believe, he is mistaken. That race, like the Tartars or Persians, may put to death a number of their enemies, to revenge the blood of a chief slain in battle, but not as a funeral ceremony.

[a] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 208.

unfortunately, as the terms were adjusting, the principal posts were abandoned. The Affghans perceived this, and suddenly breaking up the conference, made a general assault; before the Persians could recover from their surprise, the city was taken [b], and great numbers were slain; but the sword did not destroy so many as had before perished from famine; and the Affghans revenged the inhabitants upon some of those whose avarice had increased their misery. We are told of one person, in whose house an immense quantity of grain was found: a stake was fixed in the centre of his granary, to which he was bound and left to perish from hunger, amidst the abundance he had refused to share with his fellow citizens [c].

Zubberdust Khan detached a corps to reduce Bunder-Abbas, which had been attacked the year before by a body of five thousand men from the neighbouring province of Baloochistan, who had expected to meet with great wealth at this celebrated seaport. They made themselves masters of the town, but were repulsed with loss from the European factories. The detachment from the Affghan army had no better fortune. The Persians fled at its approach; but the Europeans showed so resolute a countenance, that the Affghan commander feared to attack them [d]. The expedition ended in his accepting a small supply of provisions; and he returned with a force greatly reduced by the unhealthiness of the climate.

Mahmood, encouraged by the reduction of Shiraz, collected an army of thirty thousand men, and marched against Kohgeeloo, a country about three degrees to the south of Isfahan; but he was so harassed by the Arabs who inhabit some of the neighbouring districts, and his troops suffered so much from the great difference of climate when

[b] Shiraz was taken on the 13th of April, 1724, after a blockade of eight months.—Krusinski's *Memoir*, p. 276.

[c] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 277.

[d] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 277.

they descended into the plains near the sea-coast, that he was compelled to retreat without effecting his object. So sensible was he of the disgrace incurred by the failure of this ill-judged expedition, that he entered his capital privately at night.

It has been before stated, that Mahmood had recruited his army by enrolling a number of Kurds in his ranks; but he still looked with anxiety for reinforcements from Candahar. This long-expected party at length arrived[e]; but their numbers were few. A report had been spread among the inhabitants of his native province that he had become avaricious, that he neglected his bravest soldiers, and that he had not only adopted the manners of the Persians, but was secretly inclined to their heresy. These sentiments had become very general in his army; and they were increased into mutinous clamour by the failure of an attack upon the city of Yezd, from which he was repulsed with great loss. To add to his embarrassment, the Affghan chiefs, Ashrâff and Amân-ûllâh, were known to be discontented. Mahmood had been forced by the soldiers to recall the former[f], (who, after the insurrection at Kazven,

[e] The mother of Mahmood came with this caravan; and the Persians, accustomed to royal state, were astonished to see the mother of their sovereign riding astride on a camel through the streets of Isfahan.

[f] When Mahmood first ascended the throne of the degraded Hussein, he was thrown into consternation by the desertion of his cousin Ashrâff. This youth was the son of Meer Abdûllâ, whom Mahmood had slain, and had always been an object of jealousy to him; but his life was defended by the attachment of the Affghans, and the new monarch of Persia feared to provoke the resentment of his own tribe. He thought at one period, that he had found an opportunity of ruining Ashrâff without risk to himself. The post which that youth defended was forced by Tâmâsp Meerza, when that prince escaped from Isfahan. On this occurrence he assembled all the Affghan chiefs, and endeavoured to rouse their indignation against a commander, whom he represented as having, by his cowardice and bad conduct, exposed them to all the fatigues and dangers of a long and protracted siege. Ashrâff repelled the charge with that freedom which the usages of his nation permitted, and showed that his post had been so weakened, that it was impossible he could resist the superior numbers by whom he was attacked. It was established by undeniable evidence, that he had done all that valour

had proceeded to Candahar,) and to declare him his successor. Amân-ûllâh[g] had also left him to return to his native country; and though a reconciliation had taken place, it was not sincere. So situated, he could repose no confidence in his army; and it became every day more evident that he had as much to dread from his own tribe, as from his enemies.

The mind of Mahmood was unequal to the great difficulties by which he was assailed; and after his return from the unsuccessful expedition to Yezd, he had recourse to an expedient for the recovery of his affairs, which displayed the weakest superstition, if it was not, as many believed, the effect of mental derangement[h]. The usage of Tâpâssâ, or abstraction of the soul from the contemplation of all sublunary objects till it becomes absorbed in the Divinity, has spread from India over all the nations of Asia: and the Persian Sooffee, the Mahomedan Faquir, and Hindoo Joghee, or Sunnâsee, vie with each other in efforts to subdue nature by rigid austerities. It is the habit of these ascetics to remain for days almost without food[i], with their minds fixed upon one object, pronouncing the mysterious name of God, till they become inspired, or rather, till they mistake the wanderings of imagination, which are the consequence of their bodily sufferings, for heavenly inspirations. This superstition is common among the Affghans; and

could to prevent the prince's escape, and that those only were to blame who had deprived him of the means of success, by detaching the men under his command to other quarters. He was acquitted by the unanimous voice of the assembled chiefs; and Mahmood had the mortification to find his ill-judged attack had increased the reputation and popularity of him whom he desired to ruin.—Krusinski's *Memoir*.

[g] Amân-ûllâh's professed cause of discontent was personal disappointment. It is generally believed that Mahmood had promised to share all his conquests with this ambitious and able chief, to whose valour and judgment he had been greatly indebted for his success.

[h] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 290.

[i] A small portion of dry bread and water is sometimes allowed to the person performing Tâpâssâ.

their distracted sovereign had recourse to it, in the hope of obtaining divine aid, to extricate him from the dangers with which he saw himself surrounded. He chose a dark subterraneous vault for this extraordinary penance; and, during fourteen or fifteen days that he remained there, he took hardly any sustenance. When he came again into the light, his countenance was shrunk and pale, his body emaciated, and the wild stare of his eyes gave reason to conclude, that his mind, if before sane, had not been able to stand the severe trial it had been exposed to. He appears to have been reduced to the lowest state of nervous weakness, and became so restless and suspicious, that he started at the approach of his best friends, thinking every man who came near him meant to take his life[k]. While in this miserable state, intelligence was brought that Suffee Meerza, the eldest son of Shah Hussein, had escaped from Isfahan; and, before this report was discovered to be false, he had issued a fatal mandate for the destruction of all the males of the royal family of Persia, except Shah Hussein. These victims were assembled in a court of the palace; and the tyrant, attended by two or three favorites, commenced, with his own sabre, the horrid massacre. A Persian author[l] informs us, that thirty-nine princes of the blood were murdered on this dreadful occasion. Their numbers are said by European writers to have been much greater; one[m] of these relates that among them were two of the youngest sons of Hussein, who fled to their father for protection. He sheltered them in his arms; but Mahmood advanced, with fury demanded their blood, and struck at one of them with his dagger. The arm of Hussein received the wound; and the Affghan prince, savage as he was, could not but shrink with horror at seeing the blood of a monarch whom he had been accustomed to behold and treat with reverence. This

[k] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 290.
[l] Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.
[m] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 291.

occurrence, it is said[n], checked his rage, and he spared the children.

The effect which this last act of Mahmood had on his own mind was shocking. His reason was completely unsettled, and he became outrageously mad[o]. The Affghan and Persian physicians tried in vain to restore him: resort was even had to the Armenian clergy[p], and their prayers were offered upon the head of the royal maniac; but the malady increased; and as the Affghans were threatened by an attack of the Persian prince, Tâmâsp, they elected Ashrâff[q] to be their ruler, before Mahmood expired. It is asserted, that the miserable existence of that prince was shortened by a few hours[r], that his successor might enjoy the satisfaction of having slain the murderer of his father; but other and more probable accounts say, that Mahmood died in a state of the most dreadful insanity; and we are informed by one author[s], that his mother, when she saw that his situation was hopeless, directed that he should be smothered, that his sufferings might cease.

A great conquest had, perhaps, never been effected with less means than those possessed by Mahmood; and this fact might lead to a conclusion, that all deficiencies were supplied by the energy and greatness of his mind; but this prince,

[n] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 291.

[o] Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen states, that he went mad, and not only tore off his own flesh, but ate it.

[p] There can be no ground to doubt this fact. Hanway mentions it, as well as the respectable author whom I have generally followed in this part of the history, who details the particulars of this extraordinary ceremony.—Krusinski's *Memoir*, p. 150.

Voltaire, when noticing this fact, and some others equally true, calls them "*Persian tales, circulated by monks:*" (Voltaire's Works, vol. viii. p. 572:) but the bigoted philosopher evidently discredits them for no other reason than because *they were narrated by monks.*

[q] This prince mounted the throne the twenty-second of April, 1725.

[r] Krusinski states, that Ashrâff would not allow himself to be placed upon the throne till the head of Mahmood was brought to him; and that he ordered several of the ministers, and some of the most attached followers of that prince, to be put to death.—Krusinski's *Memoir*, p. 296.

[s] MSS. of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.

who had early repaired the disadvantages of a bad frame of body by exercise and temperance, had no more than the common qualities of a savage chief. He possessed personal courage, and was active and vigilant. He is said to have taken pride in being a strict observer of his word when it was pledged; but he appears to have combined in his character the most consummate deceit with the most ferocious barbarity. The empire of the Suffavean kings, when he attacked it, was like a vast fabric tottering to its fall. It was overthrown by the deplorable weakness of the sovereign; the baseness of a superstitious and corrupt court; the effeminacy and treachery of disaffected nobles; and the cowardice of an unwarlike and discontented people. We find the chief, at whose slight touch this immense structure fell to the ground, trembling at his own success, and alarmed at the magnitude of the ruins around him; and though we discover, when he first ascended the throne of Persia, a gleam of that greatness which almost justifies conquest, as it brings happiness to the conquered; his conduct appears to have been only an artful expedient to lull his intended victims into security; or, at best, a weak effort of virtue, in which he had not the fortitude to persevere. The means he latterly adopted to secure himself on the throne he had seized, are perhaps the most horrid recorded in history, and have justly consigned his memory to universal execration. Dreadful as are the ravages and massacres of all conquerors, they are often in some degree palliated by generous and great actions; and we view with astonishment, if not with admiration, the red track of a Chenghiz Khan, or a Timour; but we must turn with unmixed horror and disgust from a series of bloody massacres committed to quiet the fears of a savage ruler, who knew no way of preserving himself in the power he had obtained by violence, except the destruction of those who had submitted to his authority. But if the deep crimes of the Persian court were punished by the visitation of such an enemy, the dreadful close of Mahmood's life exhibits a scene as terrible as retributive justice could exact.

He died under the most excruciating tortures of mind and body, in the prime of his youth, and the commencement of his reign; for he had hardly attained his twenty-seventh year, and had only enjoyed the throne of Persia for the short period of three years.

Mahmood was succeeded by his cousin, Ashrâff, the son of Meer Abdûllah, and nephew of Meer Vais. But, before we relate the events of this prince's reign, it will be useful to take a view of the condition of Persia, and of the designs against it which were cherished by the courts of Constantinople and Petersburgh.

Tâmâsp, the son of Sultan Hussein, from the day of his father's imprisonment, assumed the name and state of a king; but his efforts to regain the crown of his ancestors were weak and inefficient. He excited the ruler of Kaket[t] to attack Vâctângâh[u], the disobedient Waly of Georgia; but the success of this enterprise only aided the Turkish government in their design upon that province, which they seized, while Ghilan, and the town of Baku, left equally defenceless, fell into the hands of the Russians. The Persian prince had endeavoured, at different periods, to negotiate with both the Turkish and Russian courts. His ambassador to Constantinople had been stopped at Kars[x]; but Ismail Beg, the envoy whom he sent to Petersburgh, had reached that capital, and was with the czar when Baku surrendered. This minister succeeded in concluding a treaty, by which it was stipulated[y], that the Emperor of Russia should expel the Affghans, and establish Tâmâsp upon the throne of Persia; in return for which service the Persian

[t] This province lies about half a degree to the N.E. of Teflis, the capital of Georgia.

[u] Klaproth calls this prince Wachtang the Fifth. He fled first to the Turkish territories, and afterwards took shelter in those of Russia.

[x] According to an historian of Turkey, he afterwards made his way to Constantinople; but that court refused to receive him as an envoy; and when he made his proposals like a petitioner, they were rejected.—Hawkins's *Ottoman Empire*, vol. iv. p. 272.

[y] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 203.

prince agreed to cede in perpetuity to Russia the towns of Derbund and Baku, with the provinces of Dâghestan [a], Shirwan, Ghilan, Mazenderan, and Asterabad. There were some subordinate articles relative to the supply of the Russian army while acting in Persia, and the future extension of the commerce between the two nations.

While these negotiations were carrying on at Petersburgh, the Turks were actively employed in extending their conquests. All Kurdistan had acknowledged their authority; and the fall of Erivân, Khooe [a], Nukshevan, and Maragha, made them masters of the whole of Armenia, and great part of Aderbijan. The brave inhabitants of Tabreez, who were of the same class as those of Kazveen, though part of their city was in ruins from an earthquake, disdained to submit [b] to a foe who, from the rancour of religious bigotry and the intoxication of success, committed the most cruel ravages wherever they penetrated; and the Pâchâ of Van, who commanded an army of twenty-four thousand Turks, was astonished to find himself opposed by the inhabitants of a city which had neither walls nor cannon to defend it. He ordered a general storm, and his army obtained possession of one quarter of the town: but the inhabitants, nowise intimidated, barricaded all the other streets; and not only succeeded in separating the body of Turks, who had entered the town, from the main army, but cut the whole of the former, four thousand in number, to pieces [c].

[a] Klaproth, p. 198.

[a] "This city is twenty-two fursungs from Tabreez. It is the capital of a rich and extensive district, and the emporium of a considerable trade carried on between Turkey and Persia. It contains, according to Captain Sutherland, a population of twenty-five thousand souls; and is situated on a plain, famous for a battle fought in 1514 between Shah Ismael and Selim the First. There is no town in Persia better built, or more beautiful, than Khooe: the walls are in good repair; the streets are regular, shaded with avenues of trees; and the ceilings of many of the houses are painted with infinite taste."—Kinnier's *Memoir*, p. 154.

[b] MSS. of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.

[c] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 213.

The Turkish leader, irritated at this loss, made several attacks, but with no better success than the first; and he was at last compelled to make a precipitate retreat, leaving many stragglers, and his sick and wounded to the fury of an enraged people, by whom they were all massacred [d]. The moment the Turks heard of this act of cruelty, they retaliated upon the inhabitants of the defenceless villages in Aderbijan. The citizens of Tabreez hastened to the relief of their countrymen; and the Pâchâ, confident of victory in the field, met them with eight thousand men: he was, however, completely defeated; and, after losing nearly the whole of his detachment, fled to Khooe.

The court of Constantinople, when they learnt these occurrences, sent an army of fifty thousand men against Tabreez: the brave inhabitants, the moment they heard of its approach, removed a great number of their women and children into the mountains of Ghilan, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Their imprudent ardour led them to meet their enemies in the field: but though they had courage, they had no order. The superior discipline of their enemies prevailed, after a long and bloody battle, over their valour, and they fled in confusion to their city. The Turks pursued, and anticipated a complete victory; but they found every street defended; and it was not till after an action, almost incessantly continued for four days and nights, that the besieged would consent to capitulate [e]. When, however, they saw that further resistance was vain, and that there was no hope of relief, they agreed to surrender, on condition of being permitted to retire to Ardebil. The terms required were readily granted: "and these brave men," to use the words of a contemporary author [f], "taking those of their families who remained in one hand,

[d] MSS. of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.

[e] Turkish historians state that there were twenty thousand men marched out. The Persians say only five.

[f] Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.

and their swords in the other, retreated, with a sullen pride, through the ranks of an admiring enemy. Persian history affords no instance of superior valour to that displayed by the citizens of Tabreez on this memorable occasion." Nearly thirty thousand men had fallen in the siege; and they left to their conquerors a city without one inhabitant, which had been gained by the loss of more than twenty thousand of the bravest soldiers in the Turkish army, and some of their most distinguished leaders[g]: among the latter were the Pâchâs of Ourfa and Caramania.

The city of Gunjah, which had before successfully resisted the Turks, was taken this year, and a force[h], which had subdued Kermanshah, advanced within a few marches of Isfahan, when it was compelled to retire to defend the territories of Bagdad, suddenly invaded by the Waly of Laristan[i].

These events took place in the latter years of the reign of Mahmood; but so little consideration appears to have been given either to the power of that prince, or to the pretensions of Shah Tâmâsp, that a treaty for the partition[k] of some of the finest Persian provinces was concluded between the Emperors of Russia and Constantinople[l]. This engagement, we are told, was brought about through the mediation of the French ambassador[m] at the Porte. Some ex-

[g] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 236.

[h] Ahmed, the Pâchâ of Bagdad, commanded this force.

[i] "The small province of Laristan extends along the northern shore of the Gulf, from the fifty-fifth degree of east longitude to the fifty-eighth. It has Fars to the north-west, and Kerman to the north-east. This is the poorest and least productive province in Persia. It is diversified with plains and mountains, which extend to the sea. The country is so arid, and so destitute of wholesome water, that, were it not for the periodical rains, which fill the cisterns of the natives, and enable them to cultivate the date tree, together with a small quantity of wheat and barley, it would be quite uninhabitable."—KINNIER's *Memoir*, p. 81.

[k] Peace between Russia and the Porte had been concluded a year before this partition treaty was settled.

[l] Hanway, vol. ii. pp. 217, 218.

[m] Marquess Bannac, the French ambassador at the Porte, had the merit

traordinary events prevented its ever being carried into execution; but its terms merit serious consideration, as they show the projects of both states at a period when circumstances were so favorable[n]. The boundaries of the Russian provinces in Persia were fixed by a line which gave that state all the shores of the Caspian, from the country of the Turkomans to the confluence of the rivers Kur[o] and Araxes. The possessions of Turkey were bounded by a line which commenced at the latter point, and stretching to within three miles of Ardebil, went by Tabreez to Hamadan, and thence to Kermanshah; all which towns, and all the provinces between this line and the Turkish frontier, were to be alienated from Persia, and taken possession of by the Emperor of Constantinople. These provinces were mutually guaranteed by the contracting parties; and it was stipulated, that if Tâmâsp agreed to the terms, he should receive such aid as would enable him to establish his power over the remainder of Persia; if he refused his assent, they determined to seize the countries specified, and to provide for the future tranquillity of Persia, by elevating the person they might deem most deserving to the throne of that kingdom[p]: but it was agreed that they should on no occasion listen to any overtures from Mahmood, as they appear to have considered the establishment of the Affghans in Persia irreconcilable with their projects[q].

of negotiating this treaty between the courts of Petersburgh and Constantinople.

[n] This treaty was signed on the 8th of July, 1725, and ratified by both sovereigns.—Hanway, vol. ii. p. 218.

[o] Hawkins, in his History of the Ottoman Empire, states, that this treaty contained six articles. In the preamble, the cession made by Tâmâsp to Russia of the provinces on the shores of the Caspian was recognised: the limits between Turkey and Russia were fixed by a line drawn at sixty-six miles distance from the Caspian at Daghestan, passing at a like distance from Derbund, and ending at the confluence of the Kur and Araxes.—Hawkins's *Ottoman Empire*, vol. iv. p. 277.

[p] Hawkins's Ottoman Empire, vol. iv. p. 278.

[q] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 218.

When Ashrâff became their sovereign, the Affghans were confident that his temper, activity and valour, would enable them to overcome all their enemies. His first measures, however, showed that he dreaded the leaders of his own tribe more than the Persians; and by putting to death the good and generous Almâs, the commander of Mahmood's guards, for his attachment to that prince, and the ambitious Amân-ûllâh and several other chiefs, whose only crime was conspiring to raise him to the throne before his predecessor expired, he plainly showed[r] that he was indifferent what pretext he used to rid himself of turbulent and haughty chiefs whose influence he dreaded, and whose immense wealth[s], which was all confiscated, filled the royal coffers.

The inhabitants of Isfahan saw with satisfaction the death of their oppressors: and Ashrâff conciliated them by the public manner in which he testified his horror at the last act of Mahmood's reign. The mother of the deceased monarch was compelled to remain one night in the square with the bodies of the Persian princes who had been massacred by her son. They were afterwards put in coffins, and sent with funeral pomp to Koom, where they were interred. The artful Affghan, while he publicly deprecated the crimes of his predecessor, pretended that he could never wear a crown obtained by such guilt: he laid it at Hussein's feet, and entreated him to resume his right. The captive monarch refused, declaring he was happier in retirement than he had ever been upon the throne; and the farce ended in his compelling Ashrâff to place the diadem upon his own head[t].

Ashrâff, before he succeeded to power, invited Tâmâsp to Isfahan. That weak and unfortunate prince, after several vain efforts to establish his authority in Aderbijan and

[r] Krusinski's Memoir, p. 303.

[s] The fortune of Amân-ûllâh is said to have been equal to that of his sovereign.

[t] Krusinski's Memoir, part ii. p. 163.

Irak, had retired to Mazenderan, where he was supported by Futteh Aly Khan[u]. Pleased with the prospect of a division among his enemies, he advanced towards the capital; but the death of Mahmood made a serious alteration in the views of Ashrâff, who however still pretended friendship, in the hope of seizing the person of the legitimate prince. His art was so well employed, that he must have succeeded, if some secret friends had not informed Tâmâsp of his design. The prince escaped, and Ashrâff put to death the few remaining nobles at Isfahan, on the pretext that they were in correspondence with his enemies[x].

The successor[y] of Peter the Great appeared resolved to prosecute the plans which that sovereign had formed against Persia; but the conquests of Russia on the shores of the Caspian bore no proportion to those made by the Turks, who, masters of almost all the provinces assigned to them by the partition treaty, called upon the Russians to aid in expelling the Affghans from Persia[z]. Ashrâff had sent an ambassador to Constantinople; and that court was no little embarrassed by the voice of the Oulamâh, or "priesthood," who exclaimed against the crime of leaguing with a Christian power against Mahomedans, and the still greater of making war upon a Soonee monarch for the purpose of restoring to power a dynasty of heretics. Though the ministers satisfied the Oulamâh that the connexion with Russia was dictated by necessity, and that Ashrâff had placed himself in the condition of an enemy, by refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Turkish emperor as religious head of all Mahomedans, still the war was unpopular; and the Affghan prince took every step that could increase a feeling so favorable to his interests[a]. After the ambassador of Ashrâff

[u] The Turkish tribe, of which Futteh Aly Khan was chief, had been long settled in Persia; and a considerable branch of them were planted at Asterabad, to defend that quarter against the inroads of the Turkomans.

[x] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 234.

[y] Catherine the First.

[z] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 235.

[a] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 244.

had been dismissed from the Turkish capital, hostilities were commenced; and Ahmed Pâchâ, who had made himself master of Maragha and Kazveen, advanced towards Isfahan. Prince Dalgarouki, who commanded the Russian troops on the coast of the Caspian, made no movement to support the Turks; and Tâmâsp remained in Mazenderan the neutral spectator of a contest for his dominions.

The first year of Ashrâff's reign was occupied in strengthening his internal government, and in building a small square fort[b] with lofty walls, defended by bastions, in the centre of Isfahan, as a place of security for his family, and for those of his Affghan followers. When he learnt that a numerous Turkish army was on its march towards his capital, he laid waste the country on their road, and advanced, with all the forces he could assemble, to impede their progress. A corps of two thousand Turks had been misled by an ignorant guide to a distance from the main army. Ashrâff by a rapid march came up with them, and cut them to pieces before they could receive support[c]. This success gave confidence to his troops, and discouraged his enemies, whose general halted, and surrounded his camp with entrenchments. The Affghan prince from the first had made avery effort to persuade the Turkish soldiery that the war was unlawful[d]. His private emissaries were actively employed in disseminating these opinions, and in corrupting the integrity of the Kurdish chiefs who had joined the Ottomans; and, to give more effect to these intrigues, he sent a deputation of four priests, alike venerable for their age and character, to the Pâchâ's camp. When these holy men were introduced to the general, one of them exclaimed with a loud voice, "Our sovereign, Ashrâff, bade me ask you why you war upon Mahomedans, who have obeyed the divine precepts of the law, in subverting the power of heretic Sheahs? Why you league with a Christian prince

[b] This citadel remains, and is to this day called the fort of Ashrâff.

[c] This action took place about sixty miles from Isfahan.

[d] Hawkins's Ottoman Empire, vol. ii. p. 290.

to deprive a follower of our holy prophet of a kingdom, to which he has, by all laws, human and divine, such just rights? If you continue by such injustice to compel your brethren to defend themselves, on your head be all the blood." Ahmed Pâchâ, who saw that this speech, delivered in the most solemn tone, had made a great impression, immediately answered: "I came here by command of my sovereign, who is not only a temporal monarch, but the true successor of the caliphs; and consequently the spiritual head of all orthodox Mahomedans. Ashrâff must acknowledge him as such, or he will feel the force of his arms!" Before the conference terminated, the sound for prayer was heard, and the venerable deputies of Ashrâff joined with the Turkish officers in their devotions, which they concluded by repeating aloud an earnest petition to the Almighty, that he would turn the hearts of true believers from disunion and war, and establish peace and harmony among those who truly served him[e].

After this act of artful piety, the deputies retired. Their mission was attended with all the effect that Ashrâff could have expected. A general impression was made in favour of his cause; and a large body of Kurds[f], accompanied by some Turks, followed the priests, declaring that they would not fight against the dictates of their conscience[g], and the laws of their religion. Ahmed Pâchâ saw that he had no remedy to prevent the discontent becoming general, except by hastening an action. This he was further encouraged to do by his great superiority in numbers: his army consisted of sixty thousand men, and he had seventy pieces of cannon. The Affghans had not more than half this force; and their artillery was forty swivels, mounted on camels. The Turks were however defeated, with the loss of twelve thousand men; and the route would have been complete, had not Ashrâff recalled his men from the pursuit of an

[e] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 249.
[f] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 249.
[g] Hawkins's Ottoman Empire, vol. iv. p. 292.

enemy with whom he desired peace, not war, and who could, he knew, if provoked, overwhelm him with their armies[h].

The Turkish general was obliged after this defeat to retire towards Kermanshah, leaving a part of his artillery and almost all his baggage to the Affghans. He was rather accompanied than pursued by his conquerors; for Ashrâff would not even allow his men to plunder the stragglers; and when Ahmed Pâchâ left Kermanshah and fell back on Bagdad, the Affghan sent another[i] deputation to his camp with a message, that he did not deem the spoils he had taken from misguided Mahomedans lawful; that, as he considered himself a prince, not a robber, Ahmed Pâchâ might send for his treasures and property, and that every thing belonging to him, or those under his command, except arms, should be scrupulously restored. Ashrâff not only performed his promise, but released all the prisoners made during the war: by this wise moderation he became so popular throughout the Turkish dominions, that the court of Constantinople was compelled to conclude a peace, by which it was stipulated, that Ashrâff should acknowledge the grand signior as the spiritual head of the Mahomedans[k]; in return, he was recognised as sovereign of Persia. The provinces which the Turks possessed were granted in perpetuity[l]. This cession included the whole of Kurdistan and Khuzistan, a part of Aderbijan, and several cities in Irak[m]. There were other articles relating to the restoration of cannon and military stores taken during the war, and to the right of Ashrâff to send a caravan with pilgrims annually to Mecca. The Affghan prince could not, in the situation of his affairs, expect a better treaty. Throughout the whole contest with the Turks he displayed consummate ability;

[h] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 250.

[i] Hawkins's Ottoman Empire, vol. iv. p. 293.

[k] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 253.

[l] Hanway, vol. ii p. 254.

[m] Among these were Sultaneah and Teheran, the present capital of Persia.

and we are at a loss which to admire most, his valour and military skill, or that moderation and wisdom, by which he obliged a haughty and powerful court to acknowledge his title to the Persian throne.

The settlement of this war gave Ashrâff leisure to prepare against more serious dangers. He had made an ineffectual attempt to obtain possession of Candahar, which was held by the brother of Mahmood. This failure had created a division among the Ghiljee Affghans, which seemed likely to prevent those in Persia from being reinforced in future, even by their own tribe. Malick Mahmood, the governor of Seistan, had proclaimed himself king, and had gained possession of almost all Khorassan, except Herat, which formed a separate and independent principality under the chief of the Abdâllee Affghans.

Tâmâsp was in Mazenderan, supported by the Kujurs of Asterabad. The plague, which had been raging for some time in that province, had swept away a number of those who remained attached to his fortunes; but his prospects had again improved; and he had fixed his small court at Ferrâhâbâd, where he was joined by Nâdir Kooli; a chief who had raised himself to the highest repute for valour and enterprise; and though Tâmâsp had been justly incensed at Nâdir, who had slain his own uncle, the chief of Kelât, the young hero had effaced all memory of that crime, by the recent defeat of a body of Affghans, and the recovery of the important city and district of Nishapore [a]. This accession of strength enabled Tâmâsp to act on the offensive. Nâdir brought five thousand men, and Futteh Aly Khan Kujur had three thousand. The high reputation of these chiefs soon increased their numbers. Recruits flocked from all quarters to the only standard that promised to rescue Persia from the intolerable oppression of a foreign yoke.

The first enterprise of the royal army was against Mushed, then under the chief of the Affghan tribe of Abdâllee.

[a] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 263.

When on the march to Khorassan, Nâdir Kooli, impatient of a rival, put to death Futteh Aly Khan, on the pretext of his corresponding with the enemy. Tâmâsp, who seems to have approved of this act, immediately invested Nâdir with the sole command. Both Mushed and Herat were reduced; and the whole of Khorassan was compelled to recognise Tâmâsp as the legitimate sovereign of Persia[o]. Honours were heaped upon the man who had effected this great revolution in the fortunes of his prince: and Nâdir, who had been before made captain of the guards, now received the name of Tâmâsp Kooli Khan, which signifies "the slave of Tâmâsp;" an appellation that gratified the vanity of the monarch, as it implied the devoted submission of a powerful chief, while it served the purpose of the favorite, by promoting his object, which was to disclaim the appearance of power, that he might more securely attain the substance.

Ashrâff, who had taken Yezd, and whose ambassador had just been received at Constantinople with the highest honours, hardly began to enjoy his good fortune, when he was awakened by the reports of the great successes of Shah Tâmâsp in Khorassan. Though the name of that prince had long excited the contempt of his enemies, this great change could not be regarded with indifference; and the preparations of the Affghan showed that he had a just sense of the danger. He assembled all the force he could collect; his army is said to have amounted to thirty thousand men, of whom more than half were Affghans. Small garrisons were left in the principal cities, while a number of the male inhabitants were ordered to retire on pain of death. This want of confidence not only weakened the power of Ashrâff, by spreading the impression of his fears, but strengthened the ranks of his enemy with men full of resentment, ardent to return as conquerors to those habitations from which they had been banished by an alarmed tyrant.

Nâdir prevented Tâmâsp from marching to Isfahan. He

[o] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 268.

expected that Ashrâff would advance into Khorassan, and was aware of the advantages of carrying on the war ther. Nor was he mistaken. The Affghan hastened to attack a foe who, he knew, was adding daily to his numbers. The armies met near Dâmghân: and the Affghans, accustomed to put the Persians to flight by their yells, could not be restrained from an instant attack; but the troops of Nâdir received the shock so firmly, that they were compelled to fall back. Ashrâff immediately directed two divisions of his army to make a circuit to the right and left, and attack the Persians in flank and rear, while he made another charge with the main body on their front. But Nâdir Kooli saw and defeated all these attacks; and when the Affghans were driven back in every direction, he ordered a general charge, which was completely successful[p]. This victory was obtained with a trifling loss on the part of the Persians; but the Affghans suffered severely; their camp and baggage fell into the hands of their enemies. Their flight must have been extremely precipitate, as a great portion of their army arrived at Teheran on the second day after the action, a distance of nearly two hundred miles from the field of battle. They proceeded by hasty marches to Isfahan; and Ashrâff, the moment he arrived in the capital, ordered all his tribe to repair, with their families and effects, into the new fort which he had built for their protection. After leaving a garrison to defend this important post, where his own wealth was also lodged, he marched out, with as large a force as he could bring together, to a strong position[q], at some distance to the north of Isfahan, where he fortified his camp, with an evident resolution to hazard every thing on the fate of a battle.

Tâmâsp, who, from the day his father resigned the crown,

[p] This battle was fought on the 2d of October, 1729.—Hanway, vol. ii. p. 274.

[q] This position was near the village of Moortchâkhour, which is about thirty miles north of Isfahan.

had assumed the name of King of Persia, thought himself certain, after the victory at Dâmghân, of ascending the throne of his ancestors, and anxiously desired to proceed to Isfahan; but his ambitious general was alarmed, lest the sight of a victorious prince entering that capital as a conqueror should eclipse his own glory, and obtain for Tâmâsp a personal power that might frustrate his future schemes of aggrandizement. He, therefore, persuaded the young monarch that it was advisable for him to remain at Dâmghân, with five or six thousand men, and allow his general to advance against Ashrâff. As all his arguments appeared to proceed from solicitude for the royal person, and Tâmâsp had no suspicion of his secret designs, he gained his object, and marched, unaccompanied by the court, to encounter the enemies of his country. At every stage his army received reinforcements. All anticipated the downfal of the Affghans, and all were anxious to have a share in the victory over their barbarous oppressors. Nâdir was too sensible of the advantage he derived from these impressions to check the ardour they inspired; and though he found Ashrâff strongly entrenched, he determined to attack his lines. They were defended with valour; but nothing could resist the numbers and fury of the assailants. The loss of the Persians was not great, but the Affghans left four thousand of their bravest men on the field[r]. They fled into the city of Isfahan, which they did not reach till after sunset. It was at first proclaimed that they had obtained a victory; but the loud wailings of the women in the citadel soon told the real result. The night was passed in preparations for flight from a capital which it was impossible to defend. The old men, women, and children, were mounted upon mules and camels; and after they had packed up all the treasure and spoil they could carry, they departed before break of day towards Shiraz, by a route different from that on which the Persian army was to advance. The rage and

[r] This action was fought on the 13th of November.—Hanway, vol. ii. p. 276.

despair of the Affghans were so great, that a massacre of the inhabitants was expected. If they ever conceived this intention, which is doubtful, there was no time to put it in execution; but Ashrâff, before he fled, stained his hands with the blood of the unfortunate Shah Hussein; a monarch whose misfortunes were greater than his crimes,—an eulogy that can be given to few Asiatic sovereigns.

The leader of the Persian troops was either too prudent or too politic to pursue his enemies into Isfahan. When he heard of their flight, he sent a detachment to guard the royal palace, and quiet the minds of the inhabitants; and three days after he entered the capital*. His first measure was to make diligent search for the Affghans who had been left, or had remained from choice: all were publicly executed, except such as the inhabitants requested might be saved, on account of the moderation and humanity with which they had acted when in power. The remains of Sultan Mahmood were abandoned by Nâdir to the fury of the populace: a noble edifice, which had been raised over his body, was in an instant levelled with the ground, and the place where he had been interred was converted into a common sewer, to receive the filth of the city: an act of unmanly vengeance, but worthy of those who had basely submitted to his tyranny.

Shah Tâmâsp, the moment he heard of the success of his troops, left Teheran, whither he had advanced, and arrived in Isfahan soon after it was evacuated by the Affghans. Though received with acclamation and joy, almost every object he viewed was calculated to inspire grief: and we must judge favorably of his heart when informed, that he burst into tears as he walked through the solitary and defaced halls of his glorious ancestors. But his feelings had a still greater trial to support: he knew that Ashrâff, when he slew his father, had carried off all the females of the royal family; but when he entered the interior apartments,

* Hanway, vol. ii. p. 276.

he found himself clasped to the bosom of an old woman, who called him her dear son. He was soon satisfied that she was his mother, who had escaped the fate of the other sultanas and princesses, from being unknown. She had disguised herself as a slave when Mahmood took the capital, and had not only worn the dress, but performed the lowest menial offices, during seven years [t].

Tâmâsp urged his general to pursue the Affghans, as every day brought accounts of their dreadful excesses; but Nâdir Kooli, who had already been appointed commander of the army, and governor of Khorassan, required the power of levying money to enable him to bring the war to a speedy issue. Tâmâsp was sensible that to comply with this demand was little less than to cede the sovereignty; but the soldiers would act under no other chief, and the principal nobles recommended the measure. The monarch gave way; and Nâdir marched the moment his desire was granted. It was the depth of winter, and his troops suffered extremely from the severity of the season, and the want of supplies; for Ashrâff had laid the whole country waste: but these were the only obstacles they had to encounter; for the Affghans, who had assembled near Persepolis to give them battle, fled the moment they were attacked [u], and entered Shiraz in the greatest confusion. Ashrâff now desired to negotiate for a safe retreat to his own country. He offered to restore all the ladies of the royal family, and to return the treasure and effects of the crown, provided his army was permitted to retire with their families, arms, and baggage. To this overture Nâdir replied, that the Affghans should all be put to the sword, unless they immediately gave up their prince. While this negotiation was carrying on, and the Affghan chiefs had agreed to purchase their safety by a disgraceful compliance, Ashrâff fled with two hundred followers. His escape was the signal for the general disper-

[t] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 278.

[u] This battle, or rather rout, took place the 15th of July, 1730.—Hanway, vol. ii. p. 280.



sion of his army. The precipitation and confusion of their flight, and their ultimate destruction, are described in glowing colours by an historian [x], who witnessed the scenes he has so well portrayed. They amounted at Shiraz to more than twenty thousand men. Divided under different leaders, they took distinct routes; and were closely pursued by the Persians, who traced them by the dead horses and camels they left on the road, and by the slaughtered bodies of old men, women, and children; who, when unable to keep up, had been put to death by their own relations and friends, to prevent their falling into the hands of an enraged enemy. Ashrâff had sent his brother to the sea-coast, with a considerable treasure, to bribe the Governor of Bussorah to give him his aid; but the inhabitants of that part of the province of Lâr through which this party had to march, attacked and slew the chief and his followers, and obtained an immense booty. Excited by the success of these peasants, a few Persian captives rose upon the Affghan garrison of Lâr, and put them to the sword.

The genius and success of Nâdir Kooli appeared at this moment to elevate his countrymen; while the Affghans, dejected by their losses, felt all the dread they had so recently inspired. The loss of the city and province of Lâr, and the rise of all the inhabitants of Kerman, banished every hope of maintaining himself in Persia from the breast of Ashrâff. Taking a few followers, he endeavoured to reach his native plains by the route of Seistan; but the lawless tribes of Baloochistan, who had favored his advance in the hope of plunder, had now the same motive to cut off his retreat. He was attacked by them in every direction, and, after escaping numberless dangers, was at last discovered, when wandering [y] in the desert, by the son of Abdûlla Khan, a Baloochee, who instantly slew him, and sent his head, with a very large diamond found on his person, as

[x] MSS. of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.

[y] Ashrâff had only two attendants with him when he was slain.

a present to Shah Tâmâsp[*]. Thus terminated the life of a prince, who united many noble qualities, if not virtues, to a barbarous disposition; which was probably more the result of his situation, than of his natural character. His own countrymen deemed him wise, moderate, and brave; even the Persians term him the best of their savage oppressors.

The miseries endured by a great portion of the Affghans, and by some of the principal chiefs, exceeded those of Ashrâff, because they were more protracted. Few escaped death, and hardly any returned to their native country. They either perished from want and fatigue on the desert, or were taken and sold as slaves. One large division proceeded to the sea-coast, where some embarked in small vessels, and went to Lâhsa, a town on the Arabian shore, nearly opposite the island of Bahrein, where they were all slain the moment they landed, by the cruel caution of the governor [a]. Those who reached the shores of Mekran and Scind shared no better fate; and the respectable author [b], who relates their sufferings, informs us, that when on his voyage to India, several years after, he saw a nephew of Ashrâff, and an Affghan officer of rank, called Khodâhdâd Khan, who had been governor of Lâr, earning their bread by bringing water to the inhabitants of Muscat; while another noble, called Sunsâr Khan, with whom he had a long conversation, obtained a scanty subsistence at the same sea-port by carrying baskets of earth.

Such was the end of this remarkable invasion. But the death and captivity of the Affghans was but a slight atonement for the great calamities which they had inflicted on Persia. Within seven years, nearly a million of her inhabitants had perished, her finest provinces had been rendered desert, and her proudest edifices levelled with the dust; and this by

[*] MS. of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen.

[a] His name was Shaikh Benee Khâlud.

[b] Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen, whose MS. has been of great use in writing this chapter.

enemies who had neither the force nor the wisdom to maintain the conquest; and, consequently, never could repair the ruin they had effected. The Affghans had no regular government in their own country that could support a foreign conquest; and they were averse, from their habits, to that complete emigration which has given permanent success to so many Tartar tribes. From the first to the last day of their rule in Persia, they were a small army of foreigners in the midst of a great nation. Removed to a vast distance from their own country, they could expect no support in case of a reverse; and their power, therefore, had no foundation, but in the fears of the Persians. The charm was broken by Nâdir Kooli; and his easy success excited a spirit among his countrymen, which was increased by shame at their former base and dastardly submission.

The total destruction of the Affghans, instead of restoring Tâmâsp to the sovereignty of Persia, proved only the prelude to the extinction of the little power which he had before enjoyed. The few events connected with his name which are worthy of mention, will find a place in the history of his victorious general; who, after triumphing over the enemies of his country, first usurped the power, and afterwards the title, of monarch of Persia.

APPENDIX.

ON THE LANGUAGES, THE RELIGION, THE EARLY HISTORY, THE ANTIQUITIES, AND THE CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE ANCIENT PERSIANS, TOGETHER WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN GREEK AND ORIENTAL HISTORIANS.

THE account of the ancient Persians, in the early chapters of this history, is taken almost exclusively from their national documents and traditions: that which has generally been current in Europe has been drawn from the incidental notices found in the writers of Greece and Rome. So greatly do they differ, at first sight one is almost disposed to agree with Richardson, that there is "nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire;"* from which nothing is easier than to infer, that one or the other must be wholly fabulous or fictitious: but such conclusions should not be too hastily adopted. Even in our own times, notwithstanding the multiplied facilities of intercourse, and the numerous channels through which information passes from land to land, still, if any one compare the history of a country written by a native, with the occasional notices of foreigners, many discrepancies will be found, and not a few apparent inconsistencies. For while that which is most interesting at home will often be unheard of abroad, except so far as it appears to speculative men to be possessed of scientific importance, a foreigner seldom looks among other nations for anything beyond what in some way concerns his own; he will bring this forward into the strongest light, and throw everything else into the shade. But if such is more or less the case among all men, it was eminently so among the Greeks. Much as they had to be proud of, their self-conceit was at least fully equal to their deserts: and very few among them cared about what barbarians did or what

* Dissertation prefixed to his Persian Dictionary, p. 11.

befel them, except so far as the destinies of Greece were affected thereby. Considerations of this kind have led many of the learned to perceive that there may be wide historical discrepancies, without any incompatibility; even the same events may be regarded from very different points of view, so as to present themselves very differently, and, in consequence, to be very differently represented; but when spectators are a thousand miles asunder, the events which affect and interest the most will themselves be different: above all, popular traditions have, in every age, been forgetful of disgrace where it is not followed by some overwhelming calamity, and, on the other hand, are always retentive of glory. Hence, while some scholars, according to their tastes and habitual predilections, have made the eastern account of ancient Persia give way to the western, or the western to the eastern, others have proceeded less peremptorily and more judiciously, have tried whether it is not possible to reconcile and harmonize the two, and have sought out and fancied they have discovered certain points of contact between them. During the last thirty years, especially, ancient Persia, as well as other countries, has been visited by many diligent inquirers. To enter at length into the details of such a critical investigation would be inconsistent with the scheme of this work, and is a task for which the author does not deem himself qualified. But a history of Persia would be very incomplete which should entirely discard questions of such curiosity and historical interest; from which consideration I purpose, in the present Appendix, briefly to review some of the principal points in this intricate discussion; and, in doing so, I shall have occasion to give a cursory account of the religion, antiquities, character, and manners of the ancient Persians.

In beginning a critical inquiry into the records and remains of any ancient people, the first object we usually come across is its language. This is the common depository of all the most authentic information concerning those who spoke it; and, if rightly interrogated, it will often reveal much more, and more valuable information, than that which was intentionally consigned to its keeping. The best key to the primitive history of a people is the history of its language; no witness is so cogent or so faithful; for, however those who have used it may have debased it into

the instrument of falsehood, the language itself can never lie. —But, unfortunately, with regard to the language, or rather languages, of ancient Persia, we know next to nothing. In most cases, we have only comparatively modern versions of the original documents: where anything of greater antiquity has been preserved, it is almost a dead letter to us; we have inscriptions in a character that nobody can read, and theological treatises in a language that nobody can understand. The Parsees are content to mumble their prayers without knowing their meaning; and European philology has not yet been able to clear away the rubbish wherewith time has defaced and obscured these relics. Moreover, a controversy has arisen, has been maintained with some vehemence, and is not yet decided, about the genuineness and worth of the remains themselves.

A native writer of considerable authority, in the introduction to the *Ferhung-Jehangheree*, speaking of the ancient Persian languages, enumerates seven: the Farsee, Deri, Pehlevee, Herowee, Sughzee, Zawulee, and the Suodee, now obsolete. But the latter four seem to have been only the dialects spoken in the various provinces to the east of the great desert *, with no more valid claim to a place in such a list, than the Æolic, Ionic, Doric, and Macedonic would have to be distinguished from the Greek; or than the Piedmontese, Venetian, and Neapolitan would have to stand side by side with the Italian. They are said never to have been written; and Mooullah Mahomed Sâduk, who gives a short account of the Persian languages in his introduction to a dictionary of the ancient Fars, asserts that " a word from any of them would spoil a stanza." Hence, most writers talk only of three languages, the Farsee, the Pehlevee, and the Deri; and some European

* Mr. Erskine, in a very ingenious and learned dissertation on the ancient languages of Persia, determines the habitat of these dialects as follows:—" The Hervi is the dialect of Heri or Herat, that is, of Khorassan; the Segzi that of Segvistan; the Zaweli, of Zabulistan, which comprehend Kandahar and even Ghazni; and the Soghdi, of Soghd, a province that included Samarkand and Bokhara, and probably the greater part of the cultivated country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, where, from the remotest times, a dialect of the Persian seems to have been spoken."—*Bombay Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 296. To the whole of that dissertation I am greatly indebted; as also to the remarks on the same subject by the celebrated orientalist Hammer, in the Vienna Review, ix. 36. xiii. 274.

philologers have come to the conclusion, that all the various dialects, which were spoken in the vast extent of country comprehended under the name of ancient Persia, and reaching from the Indus to the Tigris, may be classed under two heads, the Farsee, and the Pehlevee.

Of these, the Farsee derives its name from the province of Fars, the seat of that tribe which, it would appear from western historians, after the time of Cyrus became predominant in the empire; but its original home seems to have been eastward of the great desert, in Bactria and Transoxania. For it is said in the Ferhangi Schuri to have been spoken with the greatest purity in Balkh, Bamian, and Bokhara; whence Bahman brought it, and established it as the language of the court. If there be any ground for such a tradition, the Bactrian must, in early times, have been the most polished among the dialects of the Farsee; and, as no language can be polished except by literature, or at least by poetry, this would favour the conjecture, entertained by several learned men, about the existence of an ancient Bactrian monarchy, anterior to the Achemenid dynasty in Persia, and which had reached a considerable degree of civilization. Transoxania, too, is the point where it is most probable that the Teutonic nations branched off from the great primitive stem, following, it would seem, the northern coast of the Caspian; which at once accounts for, and is confirmed by, the great family likeness observed between the Persian and the various Teutonic languages, our own among the rest. As it was in these eastern provinces that the new Persian empire arose, the Farsee has naturally been the chief groundwork of the modern Persian. It has been mixed up, however, with a strong infusion of Arabic, the result of the Mahomedan conquest, which the Koran, especially while it was the only attainable book, in no slight degree tended to circulate; and as languages, on their coalition one with another, are wont, as the Saxon for instance, did on its coalition with the Norman to form the English, so the Persian, also, seems to have exchanged its ancient freedom of what has been called organic inflexion, for the mode of declension by suffixes and affixes, by prepositions and auxiliaries.

As the Farsee was the language of eastern Persia, so it was in the western provinces that the Pehlevee prevailed. A theorizer,

accustomed to reflect on the coincidences between physical and intellectual geography, and to observe how the limits of languages, as of nations, are wont to be defined by some great natural boundary, in most cases by chains of mountains, might conjecture, in the present instance, since there is no mountain barrier across Persia, that the great desert must originally have separated the Pehlevee from the Farsee; and, if these languages were primarily distinct from each other, such a conjecture would not be improbable. Indeed, it is somewhat confirmed by Mr. Erskine's remark, that he has "never heard of any Pehlevee inscription found, or any Pehlevee work written, to the east of the great desert."* Were this notion established, the Pehlevee must be held to be the language of the Medes, as distinguished from the Persians. The native geographers and lexicographers define it to have been spoken at Isfahan, at Hamadan (Ecbatana, the capital of Media), and in Aderbejan; which, at all events, assists us to understand the origin of whatever affinity there may be between the Pehlevee and the Georgian. When the Parthians made Ctesiphon and Hamadan their capitals, and under most of the Sassanidæ, who resided chiefly at Susa, and almost exclusively in the west, the Pehlevee naturally became the principal dialect, so that the main part of the works, existing at the time of the Mahomedan conquest, were written in it. So complete, however, was the destruction brought about, first by the fanatical zeal of the invaders, and afterwards, by indifference about the originals after everything valuable had been sucked out of them, that scarcely any specimens of the Pehlevee have been found, besides a few inscriptions and legends of medals, and some portions of the Zendavesta and certain treatises connected therewith, brought to Europe by Anquetil; and these are so scanty and indeterminate, that different opinions have been held concerning the family of languages to which the Pehlevee belongs. Sir W. Jones declared his "perfect conviction that the Pehlevee was a dialect of the Chaldaic;"† he is followedby Hammer; while Wahl, Mr. Erskine, and others, consider the Pehlevee as a language collateral to the Farsee, and a member of the great Indo-Persian family; having undergone,

* Bombay Transactions, ii. 298.   † Sixth Discourse.

however, no slight modifications of its character from the neighbourhood it was placed in. The question is one of great historical interest. Could the former hypothesis be made out satisfactorily, it would tend to prove that the Medes must have been a people altogether distinct from their conquerors—a nation, not of the Indo-Persian, but of the Aramaic or Semitic race. Yet such a conclusion would be at variance with the whole tenour of their history. If anything concerning the Medes and Persians be certain, it is that they were kindred tribes of the same great nation, closely allied in manners, in dress, in laws, and in religion; and, therefore, combining the more readily with each other, so that the laws of the Medes and Persians are spoken of in the same breath as one and the same. The Medes were not an alien and subject race, like the Assyrians, and Egyptians, and Lydians. As at the opening of modern history, we see now one, and then again another, or a third, of the Germanic tribes acquiring a temporary supremacy, yet allowing its brethren to retain their independence, and even a kind of secondary authority, very different from the yoke imposed on the Celto-Latin nations they had subdued; so was it likewise in Asia, where history from the beginning has presented example after example of the way in which power runs into weakness, in which the hand, after exchanging the sword for the sceptre, soon loses the sceptre because it can no longer hold the sword. Thus the supremacy among the tribes of Iran appears to have been possessed originally by the Bactrians, next by the Medes, and, finally, by the Persians. Moreover, this is agreeable to the declaration of Strabo who, when describing Ariana or Iran (the Eeriene of the Zendavesta), says "the name extends over a certain portion of the Persians and Medes, and also of the Bactrians and Sogdianians northward; for these nations are also of the same tongue within a little *." De Sacy, too, in his very learned explanation of the Pehlevee inscriptions, has in almost every instance looked for and found his roots in the Zend, or Farsee, or in the Sanscrit. Nor is it difficult to account for the admixture of Chaldaic words which misled Sir W. Jones. The Pehlevee being spoken by the inhabitants of the provinces

* Εἰσὶ γάρ πως καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν.—xv. 8.

bordering on the Tigris, the intercourse which they must have carried on with their Aramaic neighbours, on the opposite side, for so many centuries during the long period of their union under the same government, must have been attended by a mutual interchange of words as well as of other commodities. Borderers almost always speak a kind of mixed language, especially where there is no abrupt physical line of demarcation. Besides, we know that the Pehlevee characters were derived from the Semitic; but this no more proves the languages to have been kindred, than does the derivation of the Greek alphabet from the same source; so that it is hardly necessary to go back to that earlier period when the whole of Media was subject to the Assyrians. As for the preponderance of Chaldaic words in one of Anquetil's glossaries, it is very happily explained by Mr. Erskine*. This preponderance occurs not in the Zend and Pehlevee vocabulary, but only in the Pehlevee and Persian; in which, as it was designed to explain such Pehlevee words as were obscure to the Persian reader, it is natural that the foreigners should be numerous. In the former vocabulary, on the other hand, the great majority of the Pehlevee words are of Persian origin; and as hardly any principle of selection can have operated here, this must be considered to afford a much fairer sample of the whole language.

The Deri, which is sometimes spoken of as a distinct language, was not such; but only that refined dialect of the national language which was spoken by the higher ranks, or, what in the east is almost synonymous, by the court. It will have differed from the rustic dialects after the same manner in which the language of good society and of literature in all countries, differs from that of the peasantry, although perhaps in a greater degree; since the practice of Asiatic nations, in such respects, is wont to be more arbitrary and artificial, proceeding even, as men are wont to do when a stream is shallow, to interpose as it were a lock between the thoughts and words of the higher classes and the lower. The name Deri is derived from *Der*, a word which runs through so many languages, and is to be traced in the Greek Θύρα, the German *Thür*, and our *door*. For it was

* Bombay Transactions, ii. 299.

the usage of the Persians, as it is of the Ottoman *Porte*, to name what approaches royalty from the gate, while we name it from the *court* within the gate: so that the Deri language may be rendered precisely by the *lingua corteggiana* of the Italians. In earlier times, after the dialect of Bactria had been established at court by Baharam, this received the honour of being called the Deri. Subsequently, under the early Sassanidæ, the title might have been given with propriety to the Pehlevee; since the medals and inscriptions seem to prove, that the Pehlevee was then the favorite of royalty: the name of Deri, however, does not appear ever to have been assigned to it. And perhaps the superior melody of the Farsee had obtained for it the preference as the language of conversation, even before Baharam Ghoor enacted that it should be adopted in all public documents. For such was the sweetness and elegance of the Deri, that there is a tradition of Mahomet having declared, that "if God says any thing kind or gentle to the angels around him, he speaks in Deri; if anything harsh or hard, in Arabic." "For (says Ibn Fakereddin) the language of the inhabitants of Paradise will be either the Arabic or the Persian Deri *."

To these languages, which have been spoken by some portion or other of the Persians within the record of history, is to be added the language of their sacred books, the Zend-avesta or *living word* of Zoroaster; which, in consequence, it is said, of its having been preserved in this single monument, has received the somewhat anomalous name of Zend: for such a name would convey no intimation of what the name of a language ought to intimate, the people who once employed it as their spiritual organ, and who have left it to posterity as their most faithful memorial. Besides, there would be something strangely inappropriate in calling it the living language, when few languages are so utterly dead. Even among the Parsees, with whom the Avesta is as a bible, and whose priests to this day recite its sacred formularies, hardly any one understands the meaning of more than a very few words: and, until within these few years, Anquetil was the only European scholar who applied himself with diligence to the study of the Zend. Indeed the materials are

* Ferhung Jehangheree.

but scanty and uninviting: the manuscripts are among the rarest; little can be gleaned from the short fragments printed by Anquetil; his glossary, in which the words are written in a foreign character, even if it were more copious, would still be a very fallacious guide in etymological researches; and the thankless return he met with for all his endurance and perseverance induced him to abandon his project of compiling a dictionary and grammar of the Zend and Pehlevee. We may hope, however, to arrive before long at some important and satisfactory results. The great Danish linguist, Rask, has recently returned from his travels through Asia in search of primitive languages, bringing with him fresh transcripts of all that Anquetil found, with considerable additions. From a man so unweariable, so learned, and so acute, much may be expected; and he has already published the first fruits of his inquiries in an essay maintaining the genuineness, or at least the great antiquity, of the Zend-avesta, as evinced by the genuineness and antiquity of the language it is written in. For even this point has been contested with some vehemence. The notion indeed, which was at first broached, that the whole language was a forgery, a kind of factitious gibberish, fabricated by priestcraft, has been abandoned since the discovery made by Sir William Jones of the extraordinary affinity between the Zend and the Sanscrit, an affinity so great, that he says in Anquetil's Zend glossary "six or seven words in ten are pure Sanscrit *." But this observation has led, as it well might, to a variety of inferences. For either the Zend may be a derivative immediately from the Sanscrit, as appears on the whole to have been the opinion of Sir W. Jones, and as Leyden conceived, who classes it with the Prâkrit and the Bali, and "apprehends that it may be identified with the Súraséni of Sanscrit authors †." And this hypothesis may be carried to the extent to which it is carried by Mr. Erskine, who sees no reason to believe that the Zend ever was a spoken language within the Persian empire, or understood by the ancient Persians ‡;" so that the use of Zend scriptures and a Zend liturgy,

* Discourse on the Persians. † Asiatic Researches, x., 283.
‡ Bombay Transactions, ii., 299, 300.

and the retention of them among the Parsees, would not be like the retention of a Latin liturgy in Italy, but like the use of it in a foreign country into which it had been imported from abroad. Or, on the other hand, the Zend and the Sanscrit may be regarded as co-ordinate and, so to say, sister languages, as among the earliest and immediate offspring of the primitive language, and as the parents, the latter of all the Indian dialects, the former of all the Persian. This theory, which had been previously suggested by others, is strongly supported by Rask, whose essay contains many ingenious and powerful arguments in favour of it; and who would confine the mixed Pehlevee language to the borders, deriving its name, with Mr. Erskine, from Pehlu, a *side* or *border*, in preference to the other etymology, which makes it the *language of heroes*. In this way he obtains a large field for the Zend to have flourished in, Shirwân, Ghilan, Aderbejan, Irak, and Kurdistan, in short the whole of ancient Media, the land in which, according to general tradition, Zoroaster lived, the land of the ancient magi, the land which, in the name of Aderbejan derived from the Zend *atar* or *fire*, still points itself out as the former abode of the fire-worshippers. In this region, too, we still find the Zund or Zend tribe of mountaineers, who, in the middle of the last century, gave to Persia one of her ablest and best sovereigns*, and among whom perhaps it might still be possible to discover other relics of ancient times besides their name. Whether the word Zend is a component part in the name of the province Mazenderan, must be left to abler oriental philologers to determine. But the main evidence after all must be drawn internally from the language itself, and from the relation it seems to bear to the Sanscrit, to European languages, and to the Pehlevee and the modern dialects of Persia. It may still be possible to establish the antiquity of the Zend portions of the Avesta, by demonstrating that the language is considerably older than the language of the Pehlevee portions; the latter being determined to belong to the age of the Sassanidæ, not only by tradition, but by its similarity to that of the inscriptions which have been deciphered, and by its having become obsolete after the Mahomedan conquest. For

* See Vol. ii., chap. xvi.

when a language is once known, there is no impossibility in distinguishing its youthful from its more aged features: every one can tell, even from the words they use, nay, even from the way of spelling them, that Homer lived long before Euripides, and Chaucer long before Pope. To judge from Anquetil's glossary, where the same word is common to the Zend and Pehlevee, the Pehlevee form seems generally to be the more recent, inasmuch as it is the shortest: for languages in their early ages are profuse of syllables. Thus, for instance, the Zend *eghreiotemo* becomes *aghretom* in Pehlevee; *edenanm* becomes *edeun*, *astem ast* (eight,) and *douetsche detsche* (twelve, dnodecim) deh dou. Another symptom of greater antiquity about the Zend is, that it appears to have possessed a greater freedom in compounding words: the Pehlevee often expresses by two or three, what the Zend combines into one: for as words become more definite, they also become less plastic. If the observation made by Rask, that all the peculiar terms of the Zoroastric religion are to be traced and explained from Zend roots, can be maintained, it will follow that Zend must be the language in which that religion was promulgated in Persia; even as our own religious and ecclesiastical words, *angel*, *apostle*, *church*, *bishop*, *priest*, *deacon*, still bear witness of the language in which Christianity was first preached in Europe. And if the course entered upon by Grotefend in deciphering the Persepolitan inscriptions, could be pursued successfully, and were to lead others, as it seems to have led him, to the conclusion, that the language of those inscriptions is the Zend, and that they belong to the old Persian monarchy, the chain of evidence will then be complete, the antiquity of the Avesta will be established, and the Zend must be recognized to have been an ancient national language.

But while the examination to which the Zend-avesta has been subjected, has only served on the whole to confirm its authority, another work, which has recently been brought forward with still greater pretensions to antiquity, has not been equally fortunate. At first, indeed, it was more so: when we are bewildered in a pathless forest, we are sometimes over-ready to pursue the first gleam of light that seems to promise

us an outlet; and thus Sir W. Jones allowed himself somewhat too sanguinely and prematurely to be deluded by the promise of the Dabistan *. A brief sketch of its contents, so far as they profess to be historical, has already been given in a note on the second chapter of this work. The Dabistan was written about a century and a half ago, by a native of Cashmere, Moobed Shah †. It is taken, we are told, from ancient Pehlevee manuscripts, and from oral communications between its author and certain Persians, preservers in secret of that religious faith which their ancestors had followed before the time of Zoroaster. It contains an account of the dynasty of Mahabad, of Jy-Affram, of Shah-Kuleev, and of Yassan-Ajum: but the extravagant number of years assigned to these dynasties, and the character of the few events recorded, convince us that the historical part of this work must be a mere fable, allusive to the early condition of mankind ‡. It is possible that Mohsin Fani may have taken this fable from the sources he pretends; but there appears throughout the whole of this branch of his subject a great desire to connect the ancient history of the Persians and Hindus. The fourteen Mahabads are evidently the fourteen Menus of the latter nation; and the division which the first of that race made of the inhabitants of Persia into four castes §, seems to be a transcript, even to the names, from the Hindu tradition of the first establishment of that institution in India. These, and other similar facts, lead us to doubt the authenticity of this part of the Dabistan; and our doubts are increased by the character of its author, who, though professing Mahomedanism, was a

* Discourse on the Persians.

† As appears from a MS. formerly belonging to Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, and now in the possession of Mr. G. C. Haughton of the East India College.

‡ From some parts of this fable, we might almost be led to believe that it had an allusion to the antediluvian monarchs; and Sir William Jones informs us, that the modern Parsees, or Guebres, have traditions of the deluge. The subject merits inquiry. Those of that persuasion to whom I addressed myself on the point, did not confirm this information.

§ For the account of the first establishment of castes among the Hindus, see the Institutes of Menu.—Sir William Jones's *Works*, vol. iii., page 77.

Soofee, or Philosophical Devotee, and an avowed believer in the superstition of the Brahmens. His principles must have connected him with the most abstracted and visionary of that tribe: and we cannot be surprised that such a man, endowed with learning and a poetical * imagination, should have taken great liberties with his text, and have tried to reconcile jarring systems.

Among the authorities he refers to, the chief is the Dessateer†, or, as it is sometimes called, the Temarawatseer. This book, which is also quoted by the author of the Burhan Kâtti ‡, has been lately found, and is now in the possession of Moollah Firoze, a very respectable and learned priest of the Parsees§, or Guebres. It purports to have been written by fifteen prophets, of whom the first was Mahabad, and the last Sassan ‖. The latter, who lived in the reign of Khoosroo Purveez, translated the original text ¶ into Persian, and added his own opinions and prophecies ** to those of his predecessors. This work is called a sacred volume, and is filled with rhapsodies in praise of the Creator, the sun, the moon, and the planets. Its contents evi-

* In Persia and India those who have the talent of making verses, assume the name of Shüer, or poet, and hold a certain rank in society from this title. Such usually take up a Tukhullus, or poetical name, by which they style themselves in their poems: that of Mahomed Mohsin was Fani, or "the Perishable," and he is generally called Mohsin Fani.

† This word, which is the plural of Destoor, and means regulation, is said by Sir William Jones to have been given to it by modern translators.

‡ The Burhan Kâtti is a Persian work of authenticity and character.

§ Moollah Firoze is an inhabitant of Bombay, where many of this class reside. He is a man of considerable learning; and is not only a good scholar in Pehlevee and Persian, but in Arabic. His proficiency in the latter has obtained him the title of Moollah.

‖ He is termed Sassan the Fifth, there being four before him of the same name in this list of prophets.

¶ Moollah Firoze states, that the original is in an obsolete language, which he can translate with difficulty; but it is, probably, a dialect of Pehlevee, or he would not have been able to read any part of it.

** One of these prophecies concerns the Mahomedan invasion and conquest of Persia; an event not difficult to predict in the reign of Khoosroo Purveez.

dently relate to a period at which the inhabitants of Persia worshipped God and the planets*, or the host of heaven †.

The author of the Dabistan refers to other sources of information besides the Dessateer. But, even supposing that his industry had recovered manuscripts which had been eagerly and vainly sought for ages, we cannot, unless we were in possession of the works he quotes, give our confidence to a writer who assumes such latitude in the frame of his narrative. But the most curious and attractive part of the Dabistan is certainly that which relates to the usages and ceremonies of the Persian worship, before the introduction of the religion of Zoroaster.

According to Mohsin Fani, the primeval religion of Persia consisted in a firm belief in one Supreme God, who made the world by his power, and governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation. This belief was followed by a worship of the host of heaven, or the celestial bodies. To this worship succeeded that of fire; which, if we are to credit Firdousee, was first introduced by Hooshung‡, the grandson of Kaiomurs: but, as he

* The worship of the sun is deemed to be one of the most ancient in the world. I am told, by a learned friend, that the Hebrew term for *East* means "before;" *West*, "behind;" *South*, the "right;" and the *North*, "obscure," or "concealed." The three first of these terms denote the position of an adorer of the sun: the last describes the darkness with which the first inhabitants of the earth believed the northern part of the globe to be enveloped.

† Since the publication of the first edition of this history, the Dessateer has been laid before the world, and several eminent Oriental scholars have made it the subject of a very elaborate critical analysis. Mr. Norris, in the *Asiatic Journal for November*, 1820, and Mr. Erskine, in the second volume of the *Bombay Transactions*, have treated it as a complete forgery. De Sacy, in the *Journal des Sçavans*, for 1821, demonstrates, from internal evidence, that in its present shape it must be of a much more recent age than it pretends to be, though he is not absolutely disinclined to suppose that it may in part have been founded on older documents or traditions. Hammer, in the *Heidelberg Review*, for 1823, has come forward as the champion of its genuineness, but he does not appear to have been successful; at all events, the ground is much too disputable to build any historical conclusions upon it.

‡ The following passage from Firdousee gives an account of the origin of this

says, Hooshung commenced by making successful war upon the deeves or magicians, and introduced new forms of worship, it is likely that he banished the old; and, perhaps, this may have been the idolatry which Mohsin Fani describes: if so, it is fatal to that theory which would connect the worship of the Hindus with that of the ancient Persians: the idols which the latter are said to have adored, and the mode of their adoration, being altogether dissimilar to those of India.

The followers of Mahabad, we are informed in the Dabistan, worshipped the planets, represented by images of a very extraordinary nature. That of Saturn, which was of black stone, had a head like an ape, the body of a man, and the tail of a hog. —The image of Jupiter was of an earthy colour: it represented a man with a vulture's head, on which was a crown, and on the top of it the heads of a cock and a dragon. The right hand of this image held a turban, or wreath of cloth; the left, a crystal water-pot.—The statue of Mars was of red stone. The image was that of a man: in his right hand, which hung by his side, was a bloody scimetar; and his left, which was raised, held an iron scourge.—The image of the sun was of gold: it represented a man on horseback with two heads, and on each a seven-pointed crown, set with rubies. Though the faces of this idol were human, it had a dragon's tail: in its right hand was a slender rod of gold, and its neck was encircled by a collar of rich jewels.—The image of Venus was of human form, and wore

worship. "One day the king (Hooshung) retired to the mountains, accompanied by some of his attendants: something appeared at a distance of enormous magnitude—black, tremendous, and glowy. Its two eyes seemed fountains of blood; the smoke which issued from its mouth obscured the air. The prudent Hooshung contemplated it circumspectly; he seized a stone, and prepared to assail it; he threw it with the force of a hero, and the serpent no longer annoyed the world. The stone struck upon a rock, and both fell to pieces by the percussion. A brilliant flame sprung from the contact; and thus fire became the product of stone. The king prostrated himself before God, and offered devout supplications, for having thus obtained the sacred fire; for which he erected a sanctuary in that spot. He said, 'This fire is a divinity; let it be worshipped by all.' Night came, the mountain was covered with fire; it was surrounded by the king and his attendants. The event was celebrated by a feast, the name of which became that of the auspicious hero."

a crown with seven peaks or points: the right hand held a bottle of oil, and the left a comb.—The image of Mercury had the body and tail of a fish, with the face of a hog: it had a crown on its head; the right hand held a pen, and the left an inkhorn.—The Moon was represented by an image of a man sitting upon a white cow. This idol had, in its right hand, an amulet of rubies; and in its left, a sprig of sweet basil. The author describes*, at great length, the temples of these idols; the incense offered at their shrine, and the classes of men by whom they were worshipped, as well as the seasons and modes of that worship. He remarks, that the planets were bodies of a spherical form, and that the figures he has represented were those under which the souls of these stars had appeared in the world of imagination to many saints, prophets, and philosophers. These souls or genii, he states, have often assumed different shapes; in conformity to which, other representations have been given of them.

This idolatry bears no resemblance to the worship of the Hindus: it seems nearest to that of the Sabians, who, we are told, believed in God, but adored the planets, deeming them his vicegerents, that exercised an influence over all created things in the world. This sect of Sabians were said to follow the ancient Chaldeans, and to inherit their skill in astronomy; a science built upon the same foundation as the adoration of the planets. And this leads us to remark, that the very title of the work from which Mohsin Fani gives an account of this worship, appears more like that of a treatise upon astrology, than upon religion. He calls it the Akhteristan†, or the Region of the

* The minute description given by Mohsin Fani of the temples, idols, and modes of worship of the ancient Persians, is very curious. A translation of this part of the Dabistan has been made by Mr. Gladwin, and is published in the new *Asiatic Miscellany*. In a copy of the Dabistan, which was for some time in my possession, I met with drawings of these idols; and the painter had delineated them very exactly, from the description of the author.

† After describing the modes in which wise and learned men arrive at an exact knowledge of the influence of the stars on human events, the author relates an anecdote of himself, which is at once a proof of his extreme superstition, and of his great reliance on the Brahmins:—" In the year one thousand

Stars. It is, however, impossible to enter into any minute comparison of the religion he ascribes to the ancient Persians with that of the Sabians, because we have only a very general account of the tenets* of the latter; but we know that their opinions were adopted by many learned persons in Asia, long after the introduction of the religion of Mahomed; and we are told, that a work†, explanatory of their tenets and ceremonies, was written in the third century of the Hijrah. It is not impossible that productions, in which religion was grafted on astronomy, should be preserved longer in the eastern than the western hemisphere. The delusive science of astrology, which has been but recently banished‡ the European world, is still cherished

and sixty-one of the Hijrah, (or A. D. 1650)," Mahomed Mohsin observes, "I had a complaint in my temples, for which I could not procure any remedy. The astrologers asserted, that it was occasioned by the vehemence of the planet Mars; and, in consequence, on the fourth of the month Zilkâdeh (or ninth of October) of that year, some learned Brahmins assembled together, having an image of Mars, the proper incense, and other things necessary for the occasion. They first employed themselves in reading prayers, and invoking names: after which, the chief man amongst them lifted up the image of Mars, and, with great reverence, said, 'Oh! renowned angel and heavenly captain! lay aside thine anger, and bestow mercy on such an one;' pointing towards me. Then they plunged the image into perfumed water; and instantly, on its immersion, the complaint ceased."—*Asiatic Miscellany.*

The name of the planet Mars, in Hindu astronomy, is Mungul. The genii, or souls of the planets, are worshipped by the Hindus, but under quite different figures from those mentioned in the Dabistan. There appears, also, a great difference between the mode in which the ancient Persians paid their adoration to the planets, and that which prevailed among the Arabians, who also worshipped them, before the introduction of the Mahomedan religion.

* See Picart's "Religious Ceremonies," Vol. VI. page 147, 153-155.

† Thebit, a celebrated Sabian, who died in the third century of the Hijrah, wrote such a work; which is thought to be lost.—Picart's "Religious Ceremonies," Vol. VI. page 166.

‡ Wherever real knowledge has advanced, the belief of astrology has diminished. We are informed by Voltaire, that in the seventeenth century this science was esteemed in France. "They consulted astrologers," he remarks, "and believed in them. All the memoirs of that time, to begin with the History of the President De Thou, are filled with predictions. The grave and severe Duke de Sully seriously records those that were foretold of Henry the Fourth. This credulity, the most infallible mark of ignorance, was then so much in vogue,

throughout the whole of Asia. There is no Mahomedan of learning in Persia or in India, who is not an astrologer: rare works upon that science are more valued than any other; and it is remarkable, that on the most trivial occasions, when calculating nativities and foretelling events, they deem it essential to describe the planets in terms* not unsuited to the description given in the Dabistan.

Hence, I think it probable that the account given in the Dabistan of the Persian religion before Zoroaster, either refers to a period prior to Hooshung, and describes the idolatry of the deeves † whom he destroyed, or is taken from the religious ceremonies and worship of a Sabian sect. If we do not adopt one of these opinions, we must conclude that it is an invention; and this would hardly appear possible, as we cannot discover what purpose such a finished tale of idolatrous superstition could be meant to answer. By placing this worship before Hooshung, two radical objections against its ever having existed in Persia

that they took care to secrete an astrologer near Queen Anne of Austria's chamber, at the birth of Louis the Fourteenth.

"What is difficult to be believed," he adds, "but is, nevertheless, related by the abbot, Vittorio Siri, a contemporary and well-informed writer, is, that Louis the Thirteenth was, from his infancy, surnamed *The Just*, because he was born under Libra, or the sign of the balance."

* The following is a literal translation from the introduction of a paper, given me by the king's astrologer, at Shiraz, in 1800; when he did me the honour to tell my fortune:—

"Praise be to that great Creator who formed earth, heaven, and the heavenly bodies: among whose divine works mankind appear but as a small spot. The dark Saturn, like a sentinel, in the seventh heaven, is attentive to his wishes. The glorious Jupiter, like an able judge, enthroned in the sixth heaven, is watchful of his desires; and the bloody Mars, with his purple stained sabre, sits in the fifth heaven, the ready executioner of his Maker's wrathful commands. And the resplendent sun, encircled by a flaming crown, shines in the fourth heaven, with light that he has received from the Almighty. The beautiful Venus, like a glad minstrel, sits in her beautiful apartment in the third heaven, supported by his power. The feathered Mercury, like a wise secretary, sits in the second heaven, the writer of the Almighty's orders. The clear moon sits enthroned in the first heaven, a sign of the Creator's power."

† Literally, magicians; but merely meaning the enemies of this race of kings, and the opposers of their religion.

are removed. First, there being no trace of any figures resembling the idols represented on the sculpture at Persepolis, or any other ruins; all that now remain having been subsequent to that period: and, secondly, the evidence of Herodotus*, who declares that the Persians had neither statues, temples, nor idols; though he states that they offered, on the tops of high mountains, sacrifices to Jove, distinguishing by that name all the expanse of the firmament; and that they adored the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds.

There are some circumstances which might dispose us to believe that the ancient religions of Persia and of India were connected in their origin. We find that there was, in the early ages of both countries, an abhorrence of animal flesh, which has been preserved to this day by some of the highest and most respected of the Indian castes. It has been noticed, that the first person in Persia who departed from this usage was the tyrant Zohak†, whose name is yet held in execration. We may suppose, that a horror at this practice remained even after it became general; and that many humane and pious men looked back, with veneration, at the superior innocence of a former age. It is on this principle that we must account for the anxiety of the historians of Zoroaster to establish, that their prophet was produced not only without sin, but without pain or death to either the animal or vegetable creation; for the ancient Persians believed that the latter, though insensible to pain or pleasure, had life, and was pervaded by the eternal spirit, as well as the former.

* It is evident from this observation, that Herodotus composed his work from information which referred to a period prior to the establishment of the religion of Zoroaster, as they certainly had temples after that event. This religion was introduced in the reign of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspes; and his son, Isfundear, the father of Ardisheer Dirazdust, (Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks,) was the greatest propagator of its tenets; and, consequently, a great builder of temples of fire. But it is still probable that even in the lifetime of Herodotus, who was born about 482 A. C., the religion of Zoroaster was not completely introduced into Persia; and his information was probably from those who professed the faith which that of Zoroaster ultimately supplanted.

† It has been shewn, that the conquest of Persia, by Zohak, alludes to the subjection of that empire to the Assyrian yoke; and it is probable that both the government and religion were subverted at the same period.

A Persian author has declared, that the religious among the followers of Zoroaster believe that the soul * of that holy person was created by God, and hung upon that tree, from which all that is celestial has been produced. The word tree is used metaphorically, to signify the first reason or knowledge, of which all the fruit is good; and when the author says, the soul of Zerdosht was suspended from a tree, he only means that the soul of the prophet was a ray from the first reason; and the perfection of Zoroaster was considered, he adds, as a splendid light from the tree of knowledge. "I have heard†," this author observes, "the wise and holy mobud, Seroosh, declare, that the father of Zoroaster had a cow‡, which, after tasting some withered leaves that had fallen from a tree, never ate of any other: these leaves being her sole food, all the milk she produced was from them." The father § of Zoroaster (whose name was Poorshasp) was entirely supported by this milk; and to it, in consequence, they refer the pregnancy of his mother, whose name was Daghda‖. The apparent object of this statement is to prove that Zoroaster was born in innocence; and that not even vegetable life was destroyed to give him existence¶.

In giving a short view of the religion of Zoroaster, which has been very fully treated by several European authors**, I shall pass

* This account of his birth is from the Dabistan, the author of which states, that he follows the Shaheristan, or the Pehlevee work of Ferzana Baharam, the son of Ferhad Yezdanee.

† It is not very clear, whether the author of the Dabistan speaks here in his own person, or of the Pehlevee writer whom he quotes: but probably the latter.

‡ Another account says, this cow ate the soul of Zoroaster as it hung to the tree, and that it passed, through her milk, to the father of that prophet.—*Persian MSS.*

§ The Parsees carry the genealogy of Zerdosht to Manucheher. I read this account of the birth of their prophet to Moollah Firoze, one of the most learned of their priests: he said it was exactly what they believed.

‖ This word in Sanscrit signifies milk.

¶ When he was born he burst out into a loud laugh, (like the prince of necromancers, Merlin,) and such a light shone from his body, as illuminated the whole room. This ancient tradition about Zoroaster, which we meet with in Persian works, is mentioned by Pliny.

** Anquetil du Perron has translated the Zend-a-vesta, which is certainly the most authentic source of information on this subject.

over the dreams of Daghda, which foretold the greatness of Zoroaster, while yet in the womb; as well as the journey of the prophet to heaven, where he received, from Hormuzd, the holy volume of the Zend-a-vesta, and the sacred fire; and his visit to hell, where he beheld Ahriman, or the evil spirit, release a man in whom he perceived some good, and threaten Satan, in his own regions, with shame and ignominy: nor shall I dwell upon his retirement to the mountain of Elboorz*, and his solitary devotion in a deep cave, adorned by mystical figures of the elements, the seasons, and the celestial bodies: nor upon the various miracles which he performed to establish the truth of his religion—the principal of which were, holding the sacred fire on his hand; allowing boiling metal to be poured on his body; and restoring to health, and his natural shape, the favourite horse of Gushtasp, whose legs were contracted and drawn up into his belly. It will be sufficient to notice, in a general manner, the leading doctrines which he propagated, the usages he prescribed, and the essential points in which he reformed and altered the ancient worship of his country. God, he taught, existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. There were, he averred, two principles in the universe—good and evil: the one was termed Hormuzd, the presiding agent of all good; the other, Ahriman, the lord of evil. Each of these had the power of creation, but that power was exercised with opposite designs; and it was from their united action, that an admixture of good and evil was found in every created thing. The angels of Hormuzd, or the good principle, sought to preserve the elements, the seasons, and the human race, which the infernal agents of Ahriman desired to destroy: but the source of good alone, the great Hormuzd, was eternal, and must, therefore, ultimately prevail. Light was the type of the good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said to Zoroaster, "My light is concealed under all that shines." Hence, the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the

* His retirement is noticed by Pliny, who says, Zoroaster is reported to have lived twenty years in the deserts.

noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. Zoroaster declared to his followers, that the guardian angels of animals and of the elements had addressed him as follows: —

" Guard my herds and flocks," said the holy Bahman, " O man of God! These I received from the Almighty: these I commit to you. Let not the young be slain, nor those that are still useful."

" Servant of the Most High!" exclaimed the dazzling Ardibehesht, " speak to the royal Gushtasp from me: say that unto thee I have confided all fires. Ordain the mobuds, the dustoors, and herboods*, to preserve them, and neither to extinguish them in the water, nor in the earth: bid them erect, in every city, a temple of fire, and celebrate, in honour of that element, the feasts ordained by law. The brilliancy of fire is from God; and what is more beautiful than that element? It requires only wood and odours. Let the young and the old give these, and their prayers shall be heard. I give it over to thee as I received it from God. Those who do not fulfil my words, shall go to the infernal regions."

Shaherawar next spoke: " Oh thou pure man!" said this angel, " when thou art upon the earth, tell all men my words: bid those who carry the lance, the sword, the dagger, and the mace clean them each year, that the sight of them may put to flight those that cherish bad designs. Bid them never place confidence in wicked men, nor in their enemies."

Espendermad exclaimed: " Thou who shalt be as a blessing unto mankind, preserve the earth from blood, uncleanliness, and from carcasses: carry such where the earth is not cultivated, and where neither man nor water passeth. Fruits in abundance shall reward labour; and the best king is he who rendereth the earth most fertile. Say this unto men from me."

The angel Khourdad said: " I confide to thee, O Zoroaster! the water that flows, that which is stagnant, the water of rivers, that which comes from afar, and from the mountains, the water

* Names of different orders of priests.

from rain and from springs: instruct men that it is water which gives strength to all living things; it makes all verdant. Let it not be polluted with any thing dead or impure, that your victuals, boiled in pure water, may be healthy. Execute thus the words of God."

After Khourdad had finished, Amerdad said: "O Zoroaster! bid men not destroy, nor pull, except in season, the plants and the fruits of the earth; for these were meant as a support and blessing to man, and unto animals."

Zoroaster was also instructed to establish, in every place, a priest who should read the sacred volume, or the Avesta; and these were ordained to preserve pure the four elements of which man is formed; earth, air, fire, and water*.

These were the leading principles of the religion of Zoroaster. The general maxims taught in his great work, the Zend-a-vesta, were moral and excellent, and well calculated to promote industry and virtue. That the principal tenets of his faith were pure and sublime, and that his religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator, is as true as the accusations that he artfully adapted his creed to the prejudices of his countrymen, and that, whatever may have been his intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a wide door for superstition. There can be no doubt that the devotion intended for the Deity by Zoroaster has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited the reproachful name of worshippers of fire.

Though the Persians, before Zoroaster, reverenced fire as one of the elements, we have no reason to believe that they preserved it in temples†, or addressed their devotions to it. The

* Zend-a-vesta.

† The silence of Herodotus as to the great revolution which had taken place in the religion of Persia, (a short period before his own time,) appears to prove that the progress of the change was slow. But, on looking closely at the passage in Herodotus, we also discover, that he writes of the past more than the actual state of the religion of Persia. He observes, it is true, that "he speaks "*from his own knowledge*, when he states, that the Persians have neither sta-"tues, temples, nor altars," &c. But after asserting, in the same positive manner, and in the present tense, that "They adore the sun, moon, earth, fire, "water, and the winds;" he adds, "Now these are the only deities they sacri-

introduction of this usage may be deemed one of the greatest changes which he made in their religion. In directing his disciples to turn to the sun, when they offered up their prayers, he accorded with the national belief, which was also flattered by his great veneration for the elements. But his obedience to the angel Espendermad, who bade him not soil the earth with carcasses, led him to change some part of the usages of the ancient Persians in respect to the disposal of the dead. According to Herodotus, the Persians used to inter their dead *; but the corpse was not buried till the flesh had been eaten by dogs and birds. The followers of Zoroaster expose their dead on the tops of cemeteries, built "where neither man nor water passeth;" and when the flesh is eaten off by birds, or wasted by exposure, the bones, instead of being separately interred, as formerly, are thrown into a great cavity in the centre of the common sepulchre.

"fice to from the first. In after times, from the examples of the Assyrians and "Arabians, they added Urania to the number." This passage appears to me to refer more to antecedent usage, than to the exact period at which Herodotus wrote. It certainly proves, that, immediately before the time of Zoroaster, the Persians worshipped the host of heaven, but not their images: consequently, the account of these idols given in the Dabistan must either be false altogether, or refer to a period much more remote.

* Many vases full of human bones have been recently discovered. Several were dug out of a mound near Abushehr when I was residing there; and I was told that vases of the same kind were found in different parts of Persia. Those which I saw were of a size that could not have contained the body of a full-grown person; but, as the skeletons were complete, the flesh had evidently either been cut or eaten off: and this usage seems illustrated by the following remarkable passage in Herodotus:—

"Another custom, which regards their dead, is said to be observed in secret, but not openly; namely, that the corpse of no Persian is buried, before the flesh has been torn off by a bird or a dog. The magi, indeed, I know for certain, do so: for they do it openly. Be this as it may, the Persians cover their corpses with wax, and then inter them."

Though Herodotus here says that the dead body before interment was wrapped in wax, it is probable that this was only the usage of the rich. The lower orders, to avoid expense, would naturally substitute clay; and earthen vessels for such purposes would be manufactured. The vases that have been discovered can evidently never have contained more than the bones: so that the flesh must either have been consumed by dogs or birds in the manner described, or been allowed to waste away previous to interment. See Mr. Erskine's dissertation on these urns in the Bombay Transactions, i. p. 190.

Zoroaster, we are told, was a great astrologer; and, from his knowledge of the heavenly bodies, could calculate nativities and foretell events: this knowledge has descended to the priesthood of his followers; but it would fill a volume to describe every stone of the structure he reared. He had presiding angels over each month, and over every day: the names and duties of these, and of a host of genii, are detailed in his works. The religion he introduced was disturbed, after his death, by a thousand schisms. Those of Mani and of Mazdak have been noticed. The last great reform, or rather re-establishment of the original orthodox doctrines of Zoroaster, took place in the reign of Ardisheer Babigan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty; and the rites ordained by the chief mobuds * under his reign, are still observed by the followers of this religion.

We now proceed to examine the authorities on which the history of ancient Persia is founded. They are of two kinds, Greek and native Persian, each of them labouring under peculiar disabilities. The Greek writers lived near the time of the events they record; but their national prejudices, and their ignorance of the Persian language, spirit, and manners, disqualify them for being very competent witnesses; while the earliest of the native historians belongs to a period much later than the conquest of his country by the Arabians, when the voice of tradition had grown faint, and when authentic documents of ancient times were rare and scanty.

The followers of Mahomed were so irritated by the obstinacy of the Persians in defending their independence and their religion, that they were diligent in destroying everything which could keep alive a spirit they had found it so difficult to subdue: cities were razed; temples were burnt; the holy priests who officiated in them were slaughtered; and the books containing whatever they knew, whether of science or of their own history and religion, were devoted, with their possessors, to destruction. The fanatical Arabian of this era knew, and wished to know, no book but the Koran: for, if it contained only what was in the Koran,

* Mobud appears to be the ancient Persian name of a priest. Destoor, which is now a commoner appellation, is evidently derived from the Arabic.

it was useless; if it contained anything different, it was wrong; so that there could be no harm, and might be much good, in destroying it. The Persian priests, the mujoos* or magi, were all considered as sorcerers, and their writings as the implements of their wicked arts. For evidence of this feeling, we need only refer to the popular tales of Arabia, where every act of wickedness or witchcraft is the deed of a Guebre or Gaur †; that word, which originally meant no more than a follower of Zoroaster, has become synonymous with the reproachful epithet of infidel throughout the Mahomedan world.

The literature of Persia had already had no slight difficulties to contend with. When we consider the fate of the Greek and Roman manuscripts, multiplied and accumulated as they were, we may learn to estimate how little was likely to be preserved in a country where hardly anything had been done to perpetuate books, and such violent measures were taken to destroy them. From their conquest by Alexander until the elevation of Artaxerxes, for above five centuries, the Persians were a subjected, if not an oppressed, race. And in Asia, the intellectual glory of a nation is connected with its political glory, even more intimately than in Europe. A people who may not handle the sword, will rarely distinguish themselves with the pen. But they who increase not what they have, always lose it. During those five centuries, the main part of whatever there may have been of profane literature in the great age of the first Persian empire, must have perished. Even the sacred writings of Zoroaster are said to have been lost; so that on the restoration of the monarchy only fragments of them could be collected by Ardeshir from the recitation of the priests; which collection is conceived to be the origin of the Zendavesta in its present form. Under Khoosroo, Noosheervan, and Khoosroo Purveez, literature and all the arts were in a flourishing condition. "But when the Islamites conquered Persia, (says Ibni Chaledun,) and had

* The Persian word *mugh* now means an infidel priest; it is generally applied to the Guebres, but sometimes to Christians. In poetry, it now and then signifies a tavern-keeper; this, however, is only a derivative meaning.

† Gaur is an abbreviation of Guebre, as Moal is of Moghul.

found many books, Saad-ben-Wakas wrote to Omar, requesting permission to preserve them, and have them translated for the use of the Faithful; Omar, however, commanded him to throw them into the water or fire. Thus perished all the knowledge of Persia *."

Yet this ruin cannot have been quite complete. The effect of persecution has always been to strengthen the feelings which it is unable to crush. The Guebres, who fled to preserve their religion and its form of worship, must also have been careful to preserve its sacred books; and it seems now to be sufficiently established that the Zendavesta, brought to Europe by Anquetil, belongs at latest to the time of the Sassanidæ. The poem of Wamik and Afra, a composition of the age of Noosheerwan, existed so late as under the Abbassid Kaliphs: it was carried to their governor of Khorassan, the Emir Abdullah ben Tahir, who said, "We read the Koran, and nothing but the Koran and the tradition of the Prophet: this book is a work of the Magi, and therefore an abomination. Throw it into the water †." It would be more important for our present purpose, could we ascertain the fate of those ancient national records, those "books of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia," which are several times referred to in the book of Esther, which are alluded to by Herodotus (viii. 85.) and Thucydides (i. 129), which Ctesias affirms that he made use of, informing us that the Persians, according to an ancient law, had their deeds recorded on skins, and concerning the nature of which, the long extract in the book of Esdras ‡ may enable us to form some notion. The practice of keeping such records, we know, was retained under the second Persian empire. Agathias, the historian of Justinian, tells us that the Roman ambassador, Sergius, examined them for him, and that his account of Persia is derived chiefly from them §. That account, indeed, goes no further back than the re-establishment of Persian independence by Artaxerxes; but this will

* Hammer, *Encyclopedical View of the Sciences of the East*, p. 291. See also the very learned and interesting Dissertation on the Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsees in the Bombay Transactions, vol ii. pp. 303—311.

† Hammer's History of Persian Literature, p. 35.

‡ I. c. vi. § Lib. iv. p. 136.

not prove that the chronicles of earlier times were all lost. A statesman, a courtier, and a philosopher after the fashion of the age of Justinian, was not likely to concern himself much about the deeds of men whom he would have looked down upon as ignorant barbarians. Besides, Moses of Chorene, the Armenian chronicler of the fifth century, relates that, when Valarsaces was set over Armenia by his brother Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, he sent a learned man to Nineveh to examine the royal library, for whatever information he might discover about Armenia; and that this envoy found a volume, translated by order of Alexander, from the Chaldaic tongue into the Greek, containing a true and genuine history from the earliest times*. Other accounts speak of other translations from ancient Persian and Chaldaic works, executed by order of Alexander, or of his successors; and hence, it is scarcely conceivable that some tolerably accurate narratives of the most memorable events in ancient Persian story should not have survived till the time of the Sassanidæ; when they will have formed the basis of the various Shahnamehs, especially of the Bastannameh, or national history, compiled under the reign of Yezdijird, which were subsequently translated from Pehlevee into Persian, under the Samanee princes of Khorassan†. This Bastannameh, according to all accounts, is the book of which Firdousee speaks in the introduction to his poem. Masoudi, an Arabian writer, who lived in the first half of the fourth century of the Hijra, besides quoting an ancient Cahnameh or Shahnameh, mentions having seen a history of the Persian kings, compiled in the year 113 of the Hijra, from the original documents preserved in the treasury of Istakhar ‡. In short, there is no complete break of continuity: the historical traditions of the ancient Persians were transmitted from age to age, with some changes of form, indeed, but still substantially the same, until they were at length permanently fixed by the genius of Firdousee.

The first attempt of any importance to rescue the remnant of

* Lib. I. cap. vii. viii.

† Hammer's History of Persian Literature, pp. 6—36.

‡ Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibl. Impér. viii. 165.

Persian literature from the ruin to which the Mahomedans had consigned it, is ascribed to the Samanee princes, who, in the third century of the Hijra, established a kind of independent authority in Khorassan. Authors differ about the prince who first engaged in this honourable undertaking. D'Ohsson says, it was begun by the first, and completed by the second Munsoor. But Hammer has shewn that he was misled by the similarity of names, that fruitful source of error in all oriental inquiries*. This is not the place for entering into the minute details of criticism: but the passage from Masoudi just referred to, is of itself sufficient to prove that no very long period can have elapsed after the destruction of the Persian empire, before the fragments of its ancient records were gathered together, and translated, not only into Persian, but into Arabic. The poet Dukiki was employed to versify them, by one of the Samanee princes, who, according to Tahir Mahomed and the preface of the Persian editor to the Shahnameh, was the first of that family. The way in which Firdousee speaks of Dukiki might, indeed, lead one to suppose that they had been contemporaries; but the passage is not decisive, and the greater number of authorities place him much earlier. Be this as it may, his task was soon interrupted; after he had composed about a thousand couplets, he was assassinated by one of his slaves. In after times, about the end of the fourth century of the Hijra, the celebrated Mahmood of Ghizni, when he was re-establishing the independence and the empire of Persia, wisely felt the advantage of teaching his subjects to contemplate those periods when their ancestors were wont to be the masters of Asia, and repeatedly urged his court poets Ansari and Essedi to accomplish what Dukiki had begun: they declined it, as being unequal to so boundless an undertaking. Thus, fortunately for his country, the great achievement was reserved for Firdousee, who, in his Shanhameh, or Book of Kings, has handed down to us all that the Persians know of their ancient history, from Kaiomurs, their first legendary king, to the downfall of the second empire under Yezdijird; and the

* In his very learned and elaborate review of the prose translation of the Shahnameh, by Goerres. *Vienna Yearbook of Literature*, ix. 75—77.

poem in which all these events are recorded, is deservedly the pride and the delight of the East.

Of the documents on which the Shahnameh was founded, no trace has hitherto been discovered. The original Pehlevee records, and the Persian translations from them, appear to have perished together: if the Bastannameh be still in existence, it has contrived to elude every research: could it be brought to light, it might furnish us with a useful clue to guide our steps through the dark labyrinth of eastern story, and might help us to extricate the substantial matter of fact from the poetical drapery in which it is enveloped. At all events, we should distinguish the additions of Firdousee's imagination from the national traditions which he received; though, perhaps, those who have examined the account of earlier ages, which Moses of Chorene drew from somewhat similar sources, will not be disposed very highly to estimate any Asiatic historian writing under the same circumstances. Still the loss is to be regretted; nor is there much hope of its being remedied. Mr. Lumsden, who has edited a part of the Shahnameh, has failed to meet with any account of the Bastannameh since the time of Firdousee, except the legendary, and not very probable story of its preservation in the preface to the Persian edition, published about four centuries after, which leaves it doubtful whether the writer ever saw the work he speaks of. When the purpose for which the collection was made had been so completely answered, and the Shahnameh had become, as it soon became, the standard volume of the nation, the materials out of which it was formed naturally lost their value, except in the eye of a critical scholar; and there are few such in Asia. It is also probable, that the manuscripts, if preserved at all, were deposited in the royal archives at Ghizni; for few persons, except princes, had any libraries in Asia; and if this was so, they must have perished in the terrible destruction which fell on that proud capital, when it was sacked and burnt by the Affghans of Gour.

The original records, it has been remarked already, were in Pehlevee, and to such Pehlevee records Firdousee expressly refers. It is then of considerable importance, as substantiating this reference, that the Shahnameh contains so many Pehlevee words

as to be unintelligible to a modern Persian without a glossary; while the poet studiously rejects Arabic words and phrases, which had been generally adopted long before. Indeed, he boasts of having excluded them from his work; and a man who, in this respect, was animated by a spirit so rightly national, will, probably, have been led by the same spirit to adhere with a like fidelity to the ancient traditions of his country.

The Greeks take no notice of the Paishdadian dynasty; hence Firdousee's account of them is particularly deserving of attention. In what he says of Kaiomurs, we can do no more than discern the traces of a legend, concerning the manner in which mankind has been reclaimed from a savage state, and taught the elements of civilisation. Hooshung was a religious reformer, represented by Firdousee, as the introducer of the worship of fire. His son, Tahamurs, was engaged in constant wars with the deeves, or magicians; the name given by the poet to all the enemies of this dynasty. A moderate period is assigned to the reign of these three kings; Firdousee making it only a hundred and ten years, from the accession of Kaiomurs to that of the nephew and successor of Tahamurs, the celebrated Jemsheed.

The reign of this monarch, according to Firdousee, lasted seven hundred years*. Other writers give a different statement: but all that is related of Jemsheed is evidently fabulous. It is the legend of a period in which considerable changes took place in the state of society. First we are told, that he divided his subjects † into four classes, and allotted to each a separate and fixed station in life; which seems to imply, that the condition of the ancient Persians was like that of the modern Hindus, and that the extraordinary institution of caste, which now exists in India, was once known in Persia. This theory might be supported by many arguments; but there are some

* Some authors reduce the reign of Jemsheed to a hundred and fifty years. D'Ohsson (on what authority I know not) terms it three hundred and fifty. I fix it at seven hundred, from the agreement of four copies of the Shahnameh; and this agrees with the Calcutta printed edition, which is collated from a great number of copies.

† The first division of men into classes is ascribed to Jemsheed, by all Mahomedan authors except Mohsin Fani, who refers it to Mahabad.

against it, which appear very forcible. Neither Greek * nor Persian historians state any one fact, in the ancient history of Persia, which proves the existence of caste, as we understand that term in its application to the Hindus. We meet with no more than the names of the classes into which Jemsheed divided the Persians; and Firdousee, who is minute in his description both of the country and of the manners of its inhabitants, after having once mentioned the division of the people into classes, never again recurs to the subject. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to write the history of a Hindu nation, without many passages that would imply the existence of this extraordinary institution. Some Mahomedan authors, it is true, go further than Firdousee † in their account of these classes, and say that Jemsheed directed that all persons should confine themselves to their own occupation. But this general assertion cannot, without

* Strabo, speaking of Iberia, informs us, that "four kinds or classes of people inhabited that country. From what they consider the first class, they appoint their kings, according to nearness of kindred and seniority; these administer justice, and head their armies. The second is of priests, who take charge of their political rights, with respect to their neighbours: the third, of soldiers and husbandmen: the fourth, of the people in general, who are slaves of the king, and perform every menial office." But it is obvious that these distinctions, which prevail in Circassia at the present day, are merely feudal, like the western divisions of nobles, clergy, free peasants, and bondmen.

† In almost every copy of Firdousee that I have consulted, the names of the classes into which Jemsheed divided his subjects are differently written. The following literal translation of his account of these classes is from the Calcutta edition.

"One class was called Kanoozean;
They were acquainted with holy worship.
He separated this class from the others;
Made a mountain their place of devotion:
Know, that religion was their occupation;
Reading before the splendour of the Almighty.

Another rank was placed on the opposite hand;
They were called the Nesarean.
Wherever lion-hearted men were waging war,
These were the brilliant army of the kingdom.
From them the imperial throne had its stability;
And from them the name of valour is perpetuated.

Know,

other evidence, be admitted as a proof of so important a fact. That the Persians, during the period included in the reign of Jemsheed, were divided into the four classes mentioned by Fir-

> Know, the Nesoodee is the third class.
> There is no place in which they are not praised.
> They sow, they labour, and they reap themselves;
> And at their home they hear no reproach.
> Not subject to command, they wear their coarse garments:
> Their ears are never assailed with calumny:
> They enjoy repose from controul and strife:
> Their's is health of body, and the health of the earth is from them.
> Tell me, thou that art intelligent, who uttered this saying,
> 'Indolence makes a slave of the free.'
>
> The fourth are called Anokhushee:
> They ply the handicraft arts stubbornly:
> Wherever there is work, they are always active:
> Their mind is fixed on its accomplishment."

The division made by Jemsheed is recorded in the Binidad, a Pehlevee work, and Moollah Firoze gives the names of the four classes as mentioned in that work. Asûriaâa, the priests; aretishtarân, kings and soldiers; wasterjûshan, cultivators; hûtokshân, workmen. Of the meaning of the two first names I cannot obtain a satisfactory account: I am told that they are Zend and Pazend. But *waster*, in Pehlevee, means, grain, or grass; and in the same language *hû* means good, and *tokhsha* endeavour, striving, which seems to explain the etymology of the two last.

In the Burhan Kâtti the divisions are also given; and from the great learning of the author, and the nature of a glossary or dictionary, in which the arrangement would help to correct a mistake, this account merits reliance. The meaning of all the names is explained under the article Katuzi. "Katuzi," the author says, "means a man of piety, an ecclesiastic. It must be remarked, that Jemsheed divided the race of man into four classes; one he called katuzi, and directed them to dwell in hills and in caverns, and to employ themselves in the worship of Almighty God, and in learning and knowledge. The second he called nesâri, and directed them to follow war as their occupation. Another he called nâsoodi, and enjoined them to cultivate and reap the ground. The last he called anokhûshi, and ordered them to ply the handicraft arts."

The author of the Tarikh Tubree gives an account of this division of the inhabitants of Persia by Jemsheed, into what he terms *gooroo*, or classes. He calls the first religious and wise men; the second, military; the third, tradesmen and artisans; and the fourth, husbandmen and labourers. He adds, that Jemsheed commanded that every man should confine himself to his own occupation. Khondemir also states, that each class was prohibited from engaging in the occupations of the other, and so does Mirkhavund Shah.

dousee, is very probable: but this merely implies that they were reclaimed from a savage state, and separated into those natural divisions of society which were suited to their more civilized condition. And, after all, this is only one among a thousand improvements ascribed to that prince in the fabulous history of his long reign. He built cities; he invented arms; he constructed ships; he turned the attention of the nation to agriculture; he reformed the calendar, and taught men astronomy; he was the first that made wine, that manufactured silk, and introduced music; to finish all, he became so vain of his perfections, and so intoxicated with power, that he declared himself a god, made images of his person, and denounced vengeance on all who did not fall down and worship them. This impiety not only brought ruin upon himself, but upon his country. Persia, after enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity*, was invaded and conquered by Zohâk, whose cruelty and oppression spread terror and desolation over that kingdom. May we not conclude that this is a general account of a people's history for a certain period? It describes their emerging from a savage state, in which men have few wants, and, consequently, few distinctions, either in rank or occupation; their division into the classes of a more civilized community; their becoming industrious, rich, and prosperous; their lapsing into luxury and irreligion, and so falling an easy prey to a foreign enemy. This seems a plain interpretation of the history of Jemsheed. It would be much more difficult to explain that of his conqueror, Zohâk, if we had no other light than that which eastern authors afford to guide us through this dark period of their history. They state, that Zohâk was descended from Shedad†, a prince of Syria, and that he ruled Persia for about a thousand years‡. Of this period, they give us nothing except a few fabulous anecdotes; but there is

* Persian authors say, that pain and death were banished from the earth during the first five centuries of his reign.

† This may allude to the Ben-hadâd of the Scriptures, who was one of the most famous of the Syrian kings; and who, we are told, was worshipped by the Syrians. Shedad is believed by oriental writers to have proclaimed himself a god.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

reason to conclude, from the testimonies of western writers, that Zohâk was the Assyrian monarch who conquered Persia, and that his long reign comprises that part of ancient history during which Persia was subject to Assyria.

According to Herodotus the duration of the Athenian power in upper Asia was five hundred and twenty years; according to Ctesias, and the historians who follow him, one thousand three hundred: if we take a mean between the two it will not be very much at variance with the round number assigned to Zohâk; and the Persians admit that their country, during the whole of this period, was under foreign rule. Some of the finest structures in Persia have been ascribed to the Assyrians, particularly to their queen, Semiramis; but we must refrain from conjectures concerning the works of one whose existence is doubted by some authors, and as to the date of whose reign, the most learned chronologers are not agreed within fifteen centuries*.

If we admit that the period of Zohâk's reign was that during which Persia was subject to the Assyrians, we must suppose that Feridoon is the Arbaces of the Greeks. This is supported by some strong points of agreement between the western and eastern writers. Arbaces the Mede was induced by the contemptible character of Sardanapalus to attack Nineveh, which he took, and overthrew the Assyrian monarchy. Some

* The following table of the different dates ascribed to the reign of Semiramis, is given by Bryant:—

	Years.
According to Syncellus, she lived before Christ	2177
Petavius makes the term	2060
Helvicus	2248
Eusebius	1984
Mr. Jackson	1964
Archbishop Usher	1215
Philo Biblius Sanchoniathon (apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. p. 31.) about	1200
Herodotus about	713

"What credit," says Bryant, "can be given to the history of a person, the time of whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years?"

Persian authors say that Feridoon took Zohâk in Jerusalem; but this is evidently a mistake; Firdousee describes Nineveh as the city he subdued. Another Persian writer confirms this account, and gives the name of the real capital, stating that the Assyrian monarch sometimes resided there, and sometimes at Babylon. Moses of Chorene calls this king Varbaces *: and the history he gives of his youth accords in some degree with Persian authors; but the strong fact of his having freed his countrymen from the Assyrian yoke, is that on which the conclusion that Arbaces and Feridoon are the same person must rest. The Bible seldom enters into details on the history of any nation, except the Israelites: but it seems surprising that the Greeks should give us no account of the fables connected with the birth and education of Feridoon; nor do we learn from them any particulars of those events which led the Medes to throw off the Assyrian yoke. And it is here of importance to remark, that there is no passage in all the ancient history of Persia more strongly supported by evidence than the revolt of Kâwâ, the blacksmith, who placed Feridoon on the throne. The gratitude which converted his apron into the standard of the empire, and the almost sacred respect it was held in for centuries, are proofs of the greatness of that service, the memory of which was perpetuated by such a distinction; while the actual capture of the Durufsh-e-Kâwânee, or standard † of Kâwâ, by the general of the Caliph Omar, in the fourteenth year of the Hijra, bears witness to the truth of this early part of Persian history.

The divisions that took place in the family of Feridoon, threw

* He also calls him Khodarnis.

† Herodotus no where mentions the standard of Persia. Xenophon states, that the royal ensign was a golden eagle, with its wings resting upon a spear; and Quintus Curtius describes it as the same in the time of Alexander. But though the Persians had an eagle as an ensign, this is no reason for concluding that the standard of Kâwâ did not also exist. There must have been a royal standard in ages anterior to the service which led to the adoption of the apron of Kâwâ; and this probably was the eagle described. We learn from Persian historians, that the sacred banner of Kâwâ was seldom unfurled; which also shews that there must have been other royal ensigns in more common use.

Persia * into a state of weakness and disorder †; this was increased by a war with the Scythians, who, after a long contest, made themselves masters of Persia, and held possession of it, according to Persian historians, for a period of twelve years ‡. The period comprising the war which preceded this conquest, the heroic resistance which many Persian nobles fighting for their native provinces continued to offer to the conquerors, and the final triumph of the Persians over the enemies of their country, has been chosen by Firdousee for all the most fabulous parts of his poem. During this his greatest heroes lived; and some of their most wonderful achievements are in battles with the Scythians, or warriors of Turan. It is remarkable that Firdousee hardly records the name of any one king or hero of Assyria, Greece, or of any nation, except Iran and Turan, the

* Both the Scriptural and the Greek writers distinguish the kingdom of the Medes from that of Persia; but eastern authors speak only of Eeran, which I translate Persia; as to Fars Proper, there can be no doubt that under Feridoon, and all the powerful monarchs, it was but a province of the general empire, which extended over what western writers term Media and Persia.

† Feridoon was succeeded, according to Firdousee, by his great grandson, Manucheher. Mirkhond terms him his son. This prince is the Mandauces of the Greeks. His son, Noozer, is Sosarmes. Zoo, who was placed on the throne by Zâl, when the Scythians were masters of a great part of Persia, is called Artycas by the Greeks; who say that he was the grandson of Mandauces. Kershasp they term Arbianes. There are few events recorded of any of these princes; and the chief correspondence between the Greek and Persian writers in this portion of ancient history is, that both parties reckon five princes between the overthrow of the Assyrian empire, and the election of Dijoces, or Kay Kobad.

‡ Firdousee says, Afrâsiâb, Prince of Turan, ruled Persia twelve years. The term Turan, as has been often stated, is applied by Mahomedan authors to all that country which in modern geography we term Tartary; because it is now inhabited by tribes of Tartars. In the time of Herodotus and of Alexander, Transoxania and the adjacent countries were inhabited by the Sacæ, a generic name of the Scythians, and by a particular tribe called the Massagetæ. It was evidently then by one of these tribes that Persia was invaded during the reigns of her first princes; and Afrâsiâb was no doubt a Scythian prince. There is a discrepancy between this invasion and that mentioned by Herodotus, who states that the Scythians invaded Persia in the reign of Cyaxares, and remained in possession of it for twenty-eight years. This belongs to a period nearly a century later; but this subject is obscure in the page of the Greek historian, and dates are despised by the Persian writers. It is therefore on the similarity of the facts alone that we can place any reliance.

modern Persia and Tartary; and this fact will sufficiently account for all his scenes being laid in these countries. His materials were slender; and he had to adapt the story he made from them to the prejudices and the limited knowledge * of his countrymen; who were familiarly acquainted only with those regions to which he has confined the chief actors of his drama. From this cause we find events, which occurred on the Euphrates, often transferred to the Oxus; and while one stanza describes the great expedition into Greece, a hundred pages are devoted to an inroad of a few freebooters from the plains of Tartary.

Though the story of Roostem and his family is enveloped in fable, there are some facts which seem probable. First, they were the hereditary chiefs or princes of Seestan, or Neemroz; secondly, they were connected with the royal family of Cabool, as well as that of Persia †; and thirdly, though they never assumed the title of kings, and had always kept a pageant of the royal blood upon the throne, they had been acknowledged and obeyed as rulers of a great province, and as the leaders of the armies of Persia, from the death of Manucheher, the Mandauces of the Greeks, till the elevation of Kay Kobad ‡, the first monarch of the Kaianian dynasty; a prince who, there is strong ground to conclude, is the Dijoces of Greek writers.

We are told by Herodotus, that Dijoces was elected king on account of his reputation for wisdom and justice, when Persia

* It is not likely that Firdousee had among his materials many detailed accounts of the western wars of the Persians; but, had he possessed such, the relation of the actions of Grecian warriors would have been altogether uninteresting to the vanity and pride of his countrymen. The total want of knowledge as to the geography of the countries beyond the Euphrates was in itself a reason for not making them the scenes of action for his heroes. The history of Alexander is an exception; but even he is only spoken of when in Persia or India.

† They boasted a direct descent from Jemsheed, and had subsequently intermarried with the royal family.

‡ Firdousee does not inform us who was the father of Kay Kobad, but merely says that he was of the royal blood, and descended from Manucheher. If he was the Dijoces of the Greeks, and the son, as Herodotus states, of Phraortes, the chronicles of Persia might naturally omit the name of the Median prince who conquered their country. Ctesias, who professedly drew from Persian records, does not mention Phraortes.

was in a state of great weakness and anarchy. A public assembly was called, to deliberate on national affairs; and those who were attached to Dijoces delivered themselves to the following effect:—"Forasmuch as under the present system of things we cannot live in the country, come, let us set a king over us; so shall the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall follow our occupations without being ruined for the want of law." After this prelude, Dijoces was proposed and chosen with universal applause. He built a magnificent palace, fortified his capital, and endeavoured, by establishing great state and pomp, and by secluding the royal person, to impress his subjects with a respect and awe that might add to the strength of the monarchy.

Firdousee, in relating the elevation of Kay Kobad to the throne, says that Zâl, the Prince of Seestan, and father of Roostem, who commanded the Persian army, assembled all the chiefs of the nation, and addressed them as follows:—"Brave warriors! instructed by experience, and lessoned by dangers, I have brought together this army, and endeavoured to render it formidable; but all hearts are discouraged, from the want of a prince to preserve union: the national affairs are without a director; the army marches without a chief: how much better was our condition when Zoo occupied the throne! Let us choose then some person of royal extraction, and commit to him the functions of sovereignty. He will maintain order; for a kingdom cannot exist without a head. The priests have suggested, for this high dignity, a descendant of Feridoon, a man distinguished for his magnanimity, and for his love of justice." After this speech, Kay Kobad was named, and universally approved.

The remarkable concurrence of Firdousee and Herodotus, with regard to the circumstances which attended the elevation of Dijoces, or Kay Kobad, to the throne of Persia, must strengthen our belief of the fact. The difference in the name is comparatively of small consequence. Kings of Persia had, no doubt, in ancient, as in modern times, several names, or rather appellations, used indiscriminately during their life, and after their death; and when we add to this, the corruptions of the various languages through which their history has passed before it reached

us, we cannot be surprised at our hardly ever meeting with an agreement on this point between Grecian and Persian historians. The correspondent facts in these histories are the only lights we can expect to guide us with tolerable safety through this dark and intricate period, and are to be esteemed far above dates, which, with reference to the history of Persia before the Mahomedan conquest, are perhaps still less to be depended upon than the uncertain etymology * of proper names or assumed titles; but, even with reference to these, we have a strong proof of Kay Kobad and Dijoces being the same person. One Mahomedan author † terms this monarch Arsh; and Ctesias calls him Artæus.

In Herodotus, Dijoces is succeeded by a son, who is also named Phraortes; and is the conqueror of Persia. He is not noticed by Firdousee; he probably includes his reign in his father's, who, he informs us, occupied the throne for more than a century‡. One Mahomedan historian§, however, notices the second Phraortes. Speaking of Kay Kâoos, who, in Firdousee, is called the son and successor of Kay Kobad, he observes, "Some historians are positive that Kay Kâoos was the son of Aphra, and grandson of Kay Kobad; but I believe him to have been the son of the latter." This shews that the name of this prince is familiar to eastern writers, although he has been

* It has been asserted, that the Arpbaxad, mentioned in the book of Judith, was the Dijoces of the Greeks, because he is said to have built Ecbatana; and if we were to conjecture from etymology, we should conclude that he was so. Arpha, or Arphra, is the same as Phraortes; and xad, or zad, means in ancient as in modern Persian, son; so Arphaxad might be interpreted the son of Phraortes. Firdousee says, Kay Kobad was considered as a descendant of Feridoon; or, as it would be written in Pehlevee, Phreedoon, or in the Deri, Aphreedoon, a name not dissimilar to Aphra: in this view also the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith would appear to be the Kay Kobad of the Persians; but nothing can be more uncertain than conclusions drawn only from etymology.

† The author of the Mujmah-ool-Tuarikh.

‡ In the Calcutta edition of Firdousee, Kay Kobad is said to have reigned a hundred and twenty years.

§ The author of the Mujmah-ool-Tuarikh. Mirkhond also states, that some authors believe Kay Kâoos to have been the grandson, not the son, of Kay Kobad.

excluded by most Persian authors (who generally copy Firdousee) from the list of kings between Feridoon and Kay Khoosroo.

The history of Kay Kâoos, as we read it in Firdousee, seems to include that of Cyaxares and Astyages. Herodotus informs us, that the former made war upon the Lydians, and extended his dominions to the west, as far as the river Halys*; he also states, that in the midst of a battle between the Medes and Lydians, a total eclipse of the sun took place, as had been foretold by Thales of Miletus. Cyaxares afterwards attacks Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father, but is recalled from this expedition, to save his own country from an invasion of the Scythians. Of Astyages little is recorded by Greek writers, except that he married Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes, king of Lydia, when his father concluded a peace with that monarch.

This is the period of his history in which Firdousee indulges most in fable; but we nevertheless discover facts in his page in complete accord with the general tenor of what Herodotus has recorded. The most remarkable agreement is in the expedition of Kay Kâoos to Mazenderan. In a battle fought in that province, the prince and his army are struck with a sudden blindness†, which had been foretold by a magician. This evidently appears to be the eclipse predicted by Thales. Firdousee, it is true, informs us, that the event led to Kay Kâoos and his followers being made prisoners: but this is a mere poetical fiction, invented to introduce the wonderful achievements of his hero, Roostem, who, by his single arm, subdues a number of demons, and the whole of that army which had defeated his sovereign, and not only releases him, but enables him to conquer the country he had invaded; and the result of this war, which extended the empire in the direction of the Halys, is in perfect agreement with the success of Cyaxares, as described by He-

* This river is described as rising in the mountains of Armenia.

† I am indebted to a manuscript memoir of my learned friend Mr. Hamilton, one of the professors at Hertford College, for the observation of this coincidence between Herodotus and Firdousee.

rodotus. The expedition against Hamaver*, mentioned in the Shahnameh, seems to be the siege of Nineveh, recorded by Greek writers, who agree with Firdousee in stating that the operations were interrupted by an invasion of the Scythians; and the marriage of Astyages to the daughter of the Prince of Lydia corresponds with that of Kay Kâoos with the daughter of the king of Hamaver. I have before remarked, that it is evident Firdousee comprises the two reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages under one head. The latter prince, whose name, we are told by Moses of Chorene, means dragon†, is noticed by no eastern author; but it is very remarkable that this epithet is applied in the Zend-a-vesta to designate the dynasty he belonged to.

After this short notice of the princes ‡ before Cyrus the Great, we proceed to consider the history of that monarch. Herodotus informs us, that he was the grandson of Astyages, the king of Media, whose daughter had been married to Cambyses, a Persian chief. Astyages, alarmed at a dream which led him to believe he should be dethroned by one of his own race, resolved to prevent its fulfilment by putting Cyrus to death, and made the child over to his minister, Harpagus, for that purpose. The minister gave the boy to a shepherd, with directions to slay him; but the shepherd, in consequence of the solicitations of his humane wife, not only preserved the young prince, but took care that his education should be suitable to his birth. After the lapse of some years, this deception was discovered by Astyages, who, though he desisted from his intention of destroying his grandson, punished the neglect of Harpagus, by putting his son to death. The young Cyrus went to Persia; but Harpagus, who cherished the deepest resentment against the cruel Astyages, formed a plot to dethrone him and to elevate his grandson. The latter, informed of his design, excited the Persians to revolt, and

* There is hardly a doubt that the Hamaver of Firdousee is the capital of Assyria.

† The Persian term is Azdehac.

‡ The following table will shew at one view the different kings mentioned by Persians, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, as having reigned from the period at which the Medes cast off the Assyrian yoke; or, according to oriental authors, the liberation of their country from the foreign rule of Zohâk, till the rise of Kay Khoosroo, or Cyrus the Great:—

marched against Ecbatana. The king of the Medes placed his treacherous minister at the head of his army, most of whom

HERODOTUS.	MOSES OF CHORENE.	CTESIAS.	THE JEWS.	THE PERSIANS.	PROBABLE PERIOD OF REIGN.	AUTHORITY.
					A. C.	
Arbaces .	Verbaces & Rhodanus	Arbaces .	Assuerus[a] (Tobit) . .	Feridoon[b] . . .	18 years, 748 to 730	Ctesias.
. . . .	Mandauces . . .	Mandauces	. . . .	Manuchcher . .	15 ditto 730—715	. . .
. . . .	Sosarmes . . .	Sosarmus	. . . .	Noozer	7 ditto 715—708	Firdousee.
Period of Anarchy	Artucas	Artycas .	. . . .	Zoo, 5 years . .	12 ditto 708—696	Ditto.
	Cardicias . . .	Arbianes	. . . .	Kershasp, 9 years		
Dijoces .	Dijoces[c] . . .	Artæus .	Arphaxad of Judith . .	Kay Kobad, or Arsh	40 ditto 696—656	Ctesias.
Phraortes	Artunes	Artynes .	. . . .	Aphra	22 ditto 656—634	Herodotus.
Cyaxares	Cyaxares . . .	Astibares	. . . .	Kay Kâoos . .	40 ditto 634—594	Ditto.
Astyages .	Astyages . . .	Astyigas	Darius, the Mede (Daniel)	Azdehac . . .	35 ditto 594—559	. . .
					189 Years.	

[a] Ahasuerus is a title applied to many kings of Media and Persia.

[b] Firdousee says, Feridoon reigned a thousand years.

[c] Herodotus assigns to Dijoces a reign of fifty-three years. The reign of this monarch is reckoned from the death of his ancestor, Noozer, or Sosarmes.

went over with their leader to Cyrus the moment he appeared: the consequence of this desertion was the easy reduction of the capital, and the overthrow of the Median empire. Astyages continued to reside at the court of his grandson and conqueror.

Ctesias calls Astyages Astyigas*, and tells us, Cyrus was not his descendant, but married his daughter, Amytis, after he had dethroned him. He adds, that Cyrus and his royal consort, some time after Aspades was deposed, were anxious to see that monarch, and sent an eunuch to Barcaria to bring him to court, but the eunuch let him perish with hunger as they were traversing a forest. According to Xenophon, Cyrus is the son of Cambyses, a Persian prince of the race of the Persidæ, or descendants of Persus. His mother is Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, king of Media. Cyrus, when yet a youth, brings an army of Persians to aid his maternal uncle, Cyaxares the Second, in a war with the king of Assyria; and the great conquests of Cyrus are made during the reign of his uncle, whose daughter he married, and who early named him his successor. Xenophon adds, that this prince died at Babylon†, after seeing a vision which warned him of his approaching end. Herodotus states, that among various accounts which he had heard of the death of Cyrus, he is most disposed to believe that which reports him to have been slain in an expedition against the Massagetæ‡.

* Diodorus, copying Ctesias, writes the name Aspadas; but he is too slovenly a writer to be depended upon in such matters.

† It has been conjectured that Xenophon makes Cyrus die in his bed, that he may put a philosophical discourse upon death into his mouth.

‡ Cyrus, by the stratagem of leaving them wines, with which they become intoxicated, defeats the army of the Massagetæ, and makes the prince of this tribe, which was then ruled by their queen Tomyris, a prisoner. Tomyris, hearing that her troops are overcome, and her son a captive, sends the following message to the conqueror:—"Cyrus, thou insatiable thirster after blood! be not elated by this matter which has occurred. By help of the fruit of the vine, whereby, when ye yourselves are filled with it, ye are so maddened, that as the wine streams down into your bodies, bad words rise up to your mouths—by help of this poison thou hast deceived and overcome my son, and not by strength in open battle. Now then hearken to the good advice that I give thee: restore my son to me, and depart out of this land in safety, although thou hast brought disgrace on a third part of the army of the Massagetæ; but if thou

Ctesias says, he was killed by the javelin of an Indian, when making war upon the dervishes, a tribe of that nation; and to complete the discrepancies among western writers* with regard to this event, Lucian asserts, that there is an inscription on some columns which mark the boundary of the empire of Media, implying that Cyrus, at the age of a hundred, died of grief, on hearing of the cruelties committed by his son.

The Bible makes Cyrus the successor of Darius the Mede †;

wilt not do so, I swear by the sun, the lord of the Massagetæ, insatiable as thou art of blood, I will give thee thy fill of it."

Her son, after some time, was released; but slew himself through shame. The queen collected all her forces; engaged, defeated, and slew Cyrus; she struck off his head, and cast it into a vessel filled with human blood, exclaiming, "Survivor and thy conqueror as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood!" "This account," Herodotus adds, "of the end of Cyrus seems to me the most consistent with probability, although there are many other and different relations."

What has been often imputed to Herodotus as a great defect, is one of his chief excellencies as an historian. He tells us the fables which the Persians themselves believed, informing us of the authority on which he records them. It is by these that we are enabled to identify Cyrus with Kay Khoosroo. I deem the Persian account of the end of Cyrus not materially at variance with the story of his being killed in a war with the Massagetæ. The great monarch and prophet could not be permitted to fall in battle, and to be defeated. He retires to an unknown place and is lost; in other words, dies, or is slain, in a distant country; and his companions, the first heroes of Persia, perish in a storm on their return. They were probably slain in the retreat.

* According to all the historians of Alexander, Cyrus was buried at Pasargadæ; and Alexander ordered the tomb, which had been defaced, to be repaired. The Persian inscription, which told the traveller not to envy the mighty conqueror his small portion of dust, was translated into Greek, and engraven in that language, under the original inscription. The following account of the visit of Aristobulus to the tomb is from Strabo. "There (at Pasargadæ) he saw the tomb of Cyrus in a garden. It was a tower of no great size, concealed within a thick grove of trees; solid below but roofed above, and having a chapel with a very narrow entrance. Aristobulus entered by the order of Alexander, and contributed some embellishments to the tomb. He saw there a *couch* of gold, a *table*, with *drinking cups*, a golden washing or bathing trough, and a quantity of dresses and jewellery."

† Darius must, consequently, be either Astyages or his son, Cyaxares the Second, as we follow Herodotus or Xenophon. Dara, or Darius, is a royal title;

and attributes to him the destruction of Babylon*, and the release of the Jews from their captivity. Daniel had foretold his success to Belshazzar, the son of Nebuchadnezzar; and the prophet was afterwards minister both to Darius the Mede and to Cyrus; nor did his countrymen merely owe him their release from captivity, but the restoration of a great part of the sacrilegious plunder which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from the temple of Jerusalem, and Cyrus, when he restored its ornaments, commanded that edifice to be rebuilt. Little more is given of the history of Cyrus in sacred writ; but wherever his name is mentioned, it is as a king alike eminent for wisdom and virtue, and who enjoyed great renown and extensive dominion upon the earth.

The history of Kay Khoosroo corresponds in several points with Herodotus. Siyâvesh † is the son of Kay Kâoos, but educated by Roostem. He is compelled by the intrigues of the Persian court to fly to Afrâsiâb, the king of Turan, whose daughter he marries, and by whom he is afterwards slain. He leaves a son called Kay Khoosroo, whom Afrâsiâb resolves also to put to death, lest, when he attains manhood, he should revenge the death of his father: but the cruel intention of the monarch is defeated by the humanity of his minister, Peeran-Weeseh, who preserves the child he has been commanded to de-

and his being termed the Mede is a confirmation of the general truth of the Grecian account.

* In the account of the siege and capture of this capital, there is no essential difference between Xenophon and Herodotus, nor between those writers and the Bible.

† It has been conjectured that Siyâvesh, the first Cambyses of the Greeks, was the son of Roostem; and the power and lineage of the Persian hero completely accord with the description of the family of Cambyses; he is represented as a Persian prince, descended from Achæmenes, who, I have before stated my belief, was Zal, from the circumstance of his being nurtured by a simurgh[a]. The whole story of Siyâvesh conveys the impression of his being a son of Roostem, rather than of Kay Kâoos.

[a] The Greeks term it an eagle: the Persian word means, literally, thirty fowls, and is meant to describe a fabulous bird of enormous size. It is supposed to be the rokh of the Arabian Tales.

stroy; and having, for the purpose of concealment, committed the royal infant to the charge of a shepherd, he directs that he shall receive, in secret, an education suitable to his high birth. Afrâsiâb some time afterwards discovers that his grandson is alive; but being persuaded that he is an idiot, abandons his intention of destroying him. The young prince soon effects his escape to the court of his grandfather, Kay Kâoos, and is placed upon the throne of Persia during his grandfather's lifetime. The first act of his reign is to make war upon his maternal grandfather: the king of Turan's armies are commanded by the minister to whom Kay Khoosroo owed his life. The virtuous Peeran-Weeseh is unable to resist a powerful prince, animated by the desire of revenging the blood of his father. He is defeated and slain, and his death proves a prelude to that of his sovereign, whose territories fall into the possession of his victorious grandson. Kay Khoosroo, after this conquest, and many other great achievements*, determines to spend the remainder of his life in religious retirement. He proceeds to the spot he has fixed upon, where, we are told, he disappears; and his train, among whom are some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perish in a dreadful tempest.

The above is a short abstract of the reign of this prince, as given by Firdousee: it abounds with fable; and we can trace but few historical facts. The poet has judiciously chosen a period so glorious to his country, to dilate on the deeds of his heroes; and as neither he nor his readers were acquainted with Media, nor with the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian empires, except under the general names of Sham and Room, which mean Syria and Asia Minor, he makes Persia and Turan the theatre of all their actions. Taking this view of the life of Kay Khoosroo, we may pronounce, that the transfer of the scene from Ecbatana to the capital of Afrâsiâb, and the substitution of the latter king for the sovereign of Media, are liberties natu-

* Kay Khoosroo is said to have made many conquests, both in the East and the West; but Persian authors relate none of his actions minutely, except his wars with Afrâsiâb.

rally taken by the poet; and they cannot, therefore, be admitted to affect the remarkable coincidence in the substance of the narrative as to the birth and education of this prince, as given by Firdousee and by Herodotus. A grandson is born to a king, who, fearful for his own safety, seeks the destruction of the infant, and delivers it to his minister to be put to death: the child is preserved by the person directed to slay him: the monarch discovers this, and consents to let him live: the young prince afterwards makes war upon his grandfather, whose army is commanded by the very minister* who had been the instrument of his preservation: he subdues the country, and erects a proud empire upon its ruins. The Persian author, it is true, after this conquest, makes Kay Khoosroo put his grandfather, Afrâsiâb, to death, that he may revenge his father, Siyâvesh; but this is a dramatic justice which Firdousee could not avoid without a sacrifice of consistency, since he represents all his heroes as inexorable † in avenging the blood of their relations. in this

* The fate of Peeran-Weeseh and of Harpagus is related differently in the Greek and Persian story; but the Persian poet could not taint the fame of the first and most virtuous hero of Tartary by the imputation of treason. He, however, makes Kay Khoosroo lament his death, and bestow upon him the most splendid funeral honours.

† The history of Feridoon and Manuchcher is a strong proof of this; and Firdousee makes Siyâvesh, when at the point of death, pray "that the son, of whom his widow is pregnant, may revenge his blood." The attention of Firdousee to the exclusive right of the nearest relation to revenge blood, merits notice. There is in a speech of Peeran-Weeseh to Afrâsiâb, when he reproaches that prince as the author of the calamities of his nation, an expression that strengthens the conjecture of Roostem being the father of Siyâvesh.

"Mukosh goftumet poor e Kâoos ra,
Ke dushmun kunee Roostem ou Toos ra."

"I told you not to slay the son of Kâoos,
As you would render Roostem and Toos your enemies."

The latter was the brother of Kâoos, and, therefore, nearly allied to Siyâvesh; but Roostem could have no particular right to exact vengeance for the blood of this chief, unless he was his relation: and he is evidently described by Peeran-Weeseh as the hero who will become, in consequence of the murder, the personal enemy of Afrâsiâb.

instance also his narrative is adapted to the feelings and usages of his countrymen; but, though he differs in this point, he approaches the account of Herodotus in the fact of Astyages remaining at the court of Cyrus. Kay Kâoos, the paternal grandfather of Kay Khoosroo, is represented as having resigned the throne to him, and as residing till his death in the enjoyment of the completest regard and respect of his successor.

It is certainly remarkable that Xenophon should omit every mention of the extraordinary occurrences which, according to Persian tradition, marked the youth of Cyrus, but the Cyropedia is generally considered as a work more meant to display that monarch as an example * to kings, than to record the exact particulars of his life. There may be much of fable in the accounts given of the early life of this sovereign. But it is nowise necessary to the establishment of the fact, that Kay Khoosroo is Cyrus, to prove the truth of all the events connected with his infancy. It is sufficient to shew, that they are related of one person, and that Herodotus transmitted the same tradition, which has since been recorded by Firdousee.

Though in the history of such remote periods, correspondent facts, derived from distinct sources, have a value far beyond uncertain etymology, yet the affinity of names may often aid our researches. We are told, that the name of Cyrus signified the sun in Persian; and this is the obvious signification of Coreish, the Hebrew name given to him in Scripture. Khour means the sun in Pehlevee, and Cyrus, before he ascended the throne, was called Agradates†, which appears to be the translation of the word Khourdad, or the gift of the sun, the appellation of an angel in the ancient Persian system of worship, and a very probable name ‡ for a prince of that country. With regard to the title of Kay Khoosroo, it has been common to

* The Cyropedia has been compared to the Telemachus of Fenelon.

† Palmerius states this in his correction of Strabo. The river Kur, or Cyrus, in Georgia, is said by Ptolemy to be also called Agradates.

‡ Mithridate, or Mithridad, has the same meaning. Such names have always been usual in the East, and are so at this moment; only a Mahomedan of Persia, instead of Khourdad, would be named *Allahdad*, or *Khudadad*, i.e. "the gift of God."

many sovereigns of Persia; and the dynasty of the Sassanians are always termed in Roman history the Cosroes, or, more properly, the Khoosroos of Persia.

An oriental scholar of respectability has endeavoured to shake our belief in all that the Greek writers relate of ancient Persia. He informs us*, that from every research he has been able to make, he can discover no more resemblance between their accounts of that country and those of its own historians than "between the annals of England and Japan." This is assuredly not correct: the writers of both nations mix truth with fable, and were perhaps alike disposed from national vanity to suppress some facts and to exaggerate others. These motives must often have rendered their account of the same event very dissimilar; and when to this we add the remoteness of the period, the want of dates, and the many different names and titles borne by each of the kings and heroes whom they have spoken of, we shall perhaps be more surprised at their casual agreement than at their frequent difference in the relation of the same facts, or, rather, at the omission of the historians of the one nation to notice some of the most remarkable events recorded by those of the other. Richardson states, that the chronology of the sacred writings has been forced into analogy with the imaginary dates of the Greeks, and adds, that some of the historical parts of Scripture will meet with much more support if they are compared with correspondent facts in Persian history. After noticing a difference of dates of nearly two centuries between the Jewish and Grecian chronology as to the reign of Cyrus, he proceeds to shew that a Persian chief of the name of Bucht-ool-naser, (who, according to a respectable Mahomedan author, was sent by Lohrasp, the successor of Kay Khoosroo, to govern, as his lieutenant, the western part of his empire,) was the Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible; and he is supported by the same author in stating, that Bucht-ool-naser took Jerusalem and was the oppressor of the sons of Israel. The tyranny of his son, the Belshazzar of Scripture, this writer adds, brought upon him the vengeance of Ardisheer Dirazdust, the Artaxerxes Longimanus of

* See Richardson's "Dissertation," p. 51.

the Greeks, who appointed in his room Coreish, a prince of the blood, grandson of Lohrasp, whose mother was descended of a Jewish tribe: and this connexion with the race of Israel is given as a reason, by the Mahomedan historian, for the extraordinary favour shewn by Coreish to the Jews, whom he not only released from captivity, but aided in rebuilding the temple. The dates (such as they are) of Persian history are made very nearly to accord with that epoch, which is fixed as the actual one, when the order was granted for rebuilding the temple. In support of this hypothesis it is stated, that the Bible informs us that Coreish, or Cyrus, only acted a subordinate part under Darius the Mede, at the siege of Babylon; and it is conjectured that the name of Darius, which is the Persian word Dara, was given as a title to Ardisheer, in common with other monarchs of Persia. The author concludes, from the similarity of names and the accordance of dates, that this Coreish is the real Cyrus of Scripture.

I have already stated that the Persian histories before the time of Mahomed have no era: we can only compute by the number of years they assign to each reign. This computation must become erroneous when the period is remote; and about that of which we are writing, we are led by the great difference among all the oriental authors, to put confidence in none. They frequently differ twenty and thirty, and sometimes fifty years in the reign of the same king; and when we add to this, that the dates of sacred history are in some degree conjectural*, and that the mention of the kings of Persia is always incidental, we must withhold our belief from such unsatisfactory conclusions. With regard to the name of Bucht-ool-nasert†, that the Persian chief,

* Chronologists are still divided about the dates assigned to events in Scripture. These were first inserted in the margin of the bible by Lloyd, one of the seven bishops imprisoned by James. They rest on the authority of Archbishop Usher, whose Chronology is esteemed the best. It is founded upon the Hebrew copy of the Old Testament, and has, on that ground, a pre-eminent title to credit; but it differs as much, especially in the lives of the antediluvians in the fifth chapter of Genesis, from the Samaritan copy, and from the Septuagint (the Greek translation, made about 283 B. C.) as these do from each other.

† The Chevalier D'Ohsson states, that the victories of Raham Gudurz acquired him the name of Nubobelazar; which signifies, he adds, Mercury, Jupiter, and Mars.

Raham Gudurz, is said to have taken, which is made a ground of argument, from its supposed similarity to Nebuchadnezzar, it has been before observed, that we have no example in the whole history of ancient Persia of a chief of that nation being called by an Arabic * title; and the rank of this leader, who was lieutenant to the sovereign of Persia, appears as irreconcilable with the mighty monarch of Assyria, as that of Coreish, whom the Mahomedan historian makes the successor of Belshazzar, is with the great Cyrus. The account of Bucht-ool-naser, and of Coreish in the Tarikh Tubree†, is copied by some other writers. But Firdousee takes no notice of any such names; and as we are certain that he exclusively followed Pehlevee authors, his silence may be received as a presumptive proof that these names are not to be met with in ancient Persian histories. It has been before conjectured, that the learned author of the Tubree, in his general history of the world, may have made an attempt to reconcile the mutilated annals of Persia with what he found in Jewish history; but it has, I trust, been shewn, that in the endeavour to establish such an agreement by uncertain etymologies and a vague guess at dates, admitted facts may be brought into doubt, and the cause of truth may receive injury from those who meant to give it their support‡.

* The latter part of this name only, Ool-Naser, or the Victorious, is Arabic: Bucht is Persian; and this renders the compound more improbable.

† The Coreish of the Tarikh Tubree is never advanced to the throne.

‡ The historical facts recorded in Scripture relative to the ancient kings of Assyria and Persia, are not numerous, and may be termed incidental. The prophecies concerning these monarchs, and the nations they governed, are more frequent. From the two combined, commentators have written volumes to explain this part of ancient history. But the dates of sacred history are still a subject on which the learned are far from agreed; and it would be impossible, even if they were fixed beyond dispute, to ground any conclusion upon their coincidence with Grecian or Persian histories, till we have determined that the latter have an equal claim to our credit. There cannot, therefore, be an attempt more arduous than that of the chronologist who endeavours to elucidate the dates and events of this early period of oriental history. The chronology of Scripture is unsatisfactory, from the scantiness of facts, the confusion of dates, the errors arising from the writing of proper names in different languages, and the variety of appellations often used to designate the same person. The profane history of this era, which professes to be more particular, and which affords us long catalogues of

The events in the reign of Lohrasp, the successor of Kay Khoosroo, are differently related by almost every Mahomedan historian. These are neither agreed as to his lineage, his disposition, or his history; and it is remarkable that Firdousee has fewer events in this and the succeeding reigns, which can be deemed historical, than in the preceding. Perhaps this is to be referred, in a very considerable degree, to that national vanity which preserves only the records of prosperity and glory, and either blots out altogether, or covers with fable, the traditions of misfortunes or disgrace; but in proportion as these circumstances lessen the title of Persian historians to our credit, that of Greek writers is increased. We now approach the period at which Herodotus lived, and his page becomes consequently more worthy of our attention. Firdousee informs us, that the elevation of Lohrasp was not entirely approved of by the Persian nobles; but that his good qualities overcame their reluctance to acknowledge him; and that, after a reign of a hundred years, he resigned his throne to his son, Gushtasp, and retired to Bulkh, where he was slain in a general massacre of the followers of Zoroaster, whose opinions he had adopted. The reign of Lohrasp seems to include both that of Cambyses and of Smerdis the Mage. The dates cannot easily be reconciled; but the events, which are of more consequence, may. The successful expedition to the west, appears to be the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses: and the manner and period at which he lost his life, obviously relate to the massacre of the Magi.

The Persian historians term Gushtasp the son of Lohrasp, but, if he is the Darius Hytaspes of the Greeks, as is generally conjectured, his descent, as given by Herodotus, would better accord with that which the Persians assign to Lohrasp. We can do no more than offer a conjecture, founded upon what precedes and follows the life of this prince, that his reign, which oriental

kings, and a series of their actions, though delightful when we read it for amusement, is found, on minute examination, to be so involved in fable, and so perplexed by contradictory accounts, that we can hardly permit our minds to be convinced of more than the certainty of a few important facts, which prove the existence of particular kings, and the occurrence of some great revolutions in the monarchies of Assyria and Persia.

writers inform us comprised sixty years, includes both that of Darius Hystaspes, and of his son, the celebrated Xerxes: and we may conclude, (if we adopt this hypothesis,) that the invader of Greece was the renowned son of Gushtasp, Isfundear, who always commanded his father's armies; and who, among other enterprises, is said, by Firdousee, to have conducted a great expedition into Asia-Minor*. From Persian authors we have nothing but fable on this subject; and Greek writers have, by their vain and unparalleled exaggeration † of the numbers of their enemies, thrown a veil of doubt over this memorable event, which disposes us to disbelieve what they have narrated, except that their country was invaded by a powerful army under a Persian prince, and that this army was defeated. The Greeks assign a reign of thirty-six years to Darius Hystaspes, and of twenty-one to Xerxes, which agrees within three years with the period given to Gushtasp; but this casual agreement of dates cannot be admitted as evidence, farther than in support of more conclusive proofs.

According to the Greeks, Artaxerxes Longimanus, son of Xerxes, on his father's death, ascended the throne. Eastern authors state, that Gushtasp was not succeeded by his son, Isfundear, but by his grandson, Bahman, who was known by the name of Ardisheer Dirazdust‡, or Ardisheer with the long hands;

* This country is generally known to Persians by the term Room, or Muluk-e-Mughrub; i. e. the region of the West.

† According to Herodotus, the army of Xerxes amounted to one million seven hundred thousand infantry, and eighty thousand horse; his fleet to three thousand vessels. Isocrates, in his Panathenaic speech, estimates the land army, in round numbers, at five millions. But such myriads appeared to Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other writers, so much beyond all belief, that they followed Ctesias and cut off about four-fifths, to bring the estimate within the line of probability.

‡ Khondemir relates, that the name of this prince was Ardisheer; that the epithet Dirazdust was applied to him, because he had long arms; and that the name of Bahman was given to him on account of his good disposition, which was the signification of that word in the Syrian language. Bahman, in Sanscrit, (as has been already stated,) signifies "possessing arms;" and the stanza from Firdousee has been quoted, in which he observes, that this monarch's fingers, when he stood upright, came below his knees. All these proofs render it certain

and there can be no doubt, from the similarity of name, and the epithet which described a personal deformity, that Artaxerxes and Ardisheer were one and the same person. It is also recorded by Ctesias, and the Greek writers, that Xerxes was slain by his relation, Artabanus, who is described as a powerful and ambitious chief, that had placed Artaxerxes upon the throne with an intention of seizing it for himself. He had many dependants, and his sons were the most celebrated among the warriors of Persia for their prowess and courage. Artaxerxes having become aware of his designs, put Artabanus to death. This produced a war, in which several of the heroes of Persia were slain. But the prince succeeded in his object—the extinction of the name and power of the family of Artabanus; and took vengeance for the blood of his father, by putting to death every one concerned in his murder. If we compare the account which Persian writers give of this transaction, and divest it of what is evidently fiction, we shall find a complete correspondence in every thing necessary to establish that the Persian and Greek authors are recording the same event. Roostem, the hero of Persia, was hereditary Prince of Seestan, and nearly related to the royal family. He was powerful, not only from his character and possessions, but from the number and quality of his relations and dependants; and his sons were the most renowned among the warriors of Persia for their valour and prowess. He slew Isfundear: but protected his son Ardisheer, who, through his influence, ascended the throne. Ardisheer however soon became jealous of Roostem, and not only caused him to be slain, but invaded and subdued his hereditary province, and put to death all his family, on the cowardly pretext of avenging the blood of his father. The above is the substance of what Persian authors relate on this subject; and their exact agreement with Grecian writers*, combined with

that Ardisheer and Artaxerxes are the same; and this point being admitted as beyond all doubt, is of great importance in determining the epoch both of Cyrus and of Xerxes.

* The Greeks always speak of Xerxes as the sovereign of Persia. But Persian authors say that Isfundear never had the name of king, though, for a time, when viceroy at Bulkh, he possessed regal power. This is no material difference; the national vanity which swelled a Persian army, at such a distance from the seat

the identity of Ardisheer Dirazdast with Artaxerxes Longimanus, proves, almost beyond a doubt, that the Xerxes of the Greeks is the Isfundear * of oriental authors.

In the eastern histories Ardisheer is a good and great prince; and is said not only to have conquered Seestan, the hereditary province of the family of Roostem, but to have been eminently successful in some expeditions in the west. We are also informed, that he treated the Jewish nation with great favour: and all authors concur as to the improvements he made in the internal government of his kingdom. This history of Ardisheer accords with that of Artaxerxes † Longimanus: the Greeks relate his

of government, into five millions of men, would not scruple to anticipate what appeared his certain destiny, by placing a crown upon the head of the royal leader of such a mighty force. Besides, Isfundear might have been associated in sovereignty by a father, who is stated to have always employed him in the command of his armies, and the government of a part of his empire.

* Firdousee's history of this prince is very fabulous; and Roostem is brought from that repose which a century before Kay Khoosroo had deemed him entitled to enjoy on account of his great age, being then four hundred years old, to fight one whom he loves and venerates, because the cruel and jealous Gushtasp, envious of Isfundear's glory, had persuaded him to undertake the dangerous enterprise of bringing Roostem bound to his presence. The hero, who cannot submit to this extreme disgrace, engages Isfundear, and kills him, but bewails the cruel necessity which compelled him to such an act; and takes charge of the deceased prince's son, the young Bahman, or Ardisheer Dirazdust, who afterwards mounts the throne. Roostem is murdered, and the king makes war upon his family, on the ground of revenging the death of his father. It is obvious that the poet has no mode of reconciling the exploits of Roostem with the history of his country, but by giving him an antediluvian age, and ascribing to him all that tradition had recorded of a race of heroes who lived during the period he is writing of. But Firdousee, with all his exaggerations, never altogether omits the historical facts he possessed; and we clearly trace, in his tale of Roostem and Isfundear, that a prince of Persia was slain by a powerful chief; that the chief aided the son of the prince he had put to death to ascend the throne; and that after some time he was murdered, and his family destroyed by the monarch he had supported; these facts, when connected with the identity of Ardisheer and Artaxerxes, appear sufficient to prove, that, amid all the extravagant fables with which this part of his poem is decorated, the author has still preserved the principal historical facts, and that Isfundear can be no other but Xerxes.

† Artaxerxes is mentioned in Scripture under the name of Ahasuerus, which was probably a title like Khoosroo, as it is given to several Persian kings. He is believed to be the monarch who married Esther; and his love for her, and the

punishing the family of Artabanus, whose possessions he seized; his expedition to Bactria against his brother; and his great reforms in the internal government of his dominions.

Persian historians make this prince sit upon the throne a hundred and twelve years; the Greeks, who at this period merit superior credit, limit his reign to forty-one. No other prince of the name of Ardisheer, or Artaxerxes, is noticed by oriental writers; and the similarity of name between this prince and his grandson, Artaxerxes Mnemon, as well as the successor of that prince, the Ochus of the Greeks, who was also called Artaxerxes, may have led to their history being blended* with that of Ardisheer Dirazdust.

Persian authors take no notice of Xerxes the Second and Sogdianus, whose united reigns only amounted to eight months: and considering the character of their traditions, we could not expect any mention of such ephemeral rulers. But the nature of those intrigues, which raised and cast down these monarchs, may dispose us to grant some credit to their account of Homai†, who, they inform us, was Queen of Persia for thirty-two years, and then resigned her crown to her son, Darab the First. This princess, according to oriental writers, was the daughter of Ardisheer. They relate, that when that monarch died, she was pregnant by him; but, ashamed of the incestuous intercourse, she not only concealed the birth of the infant, but ordered it to be put to death. It was, however, miraculously preserved; and, under a strange name, became distinguished as a military leader.

services rendered to him by her uncle Mordecai, made him the powerful friend and protector of the Jews. This account is supported by several Mahomedan authors, who affirm the fact of the kindness of this king to the Jews, and state, as the reason, that one of his favourite ladies was of that race. The tomb of Esther and Mordecai stands in the centre of Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana. The sepulchre is not splendid; but we must recollect it was not likely that either Ahasuerus or his successors would build a mausoleum, as such interment was contrary to their religion; but their permitting the Jews to build a tomb in the most public place of Ecbatana, implies an extraordinary respect for those whose memory such an edifice was to perpetuate.

* The aggregate reigns of the three princes of this family, whose history is given by Greek writers under the name of Artaxerxes, amounts, within a few years, to the period which Persian authors assign to Ardisheer Dirazdust.

† The meaning of this name is, a bird of Paradise.



When the mother discovered the son she had abandoned, she resigned her crown to him; and the young prince, on ascending the throne, assumed the name of Darab; his former appellation is not mentioned.

Whoever peruses the Greek accounts of the morals of the Persian kings at this period, will meet with facts to satisfy him, that the incestuous intercourse, of which eastern writers accuse Ardisheer and his daughter, is not incredible; and amid the confusion which followed the death of that monarch, his daughter may have been elevated to the throne. We have evidence in the subsequent history of Persia, when the same religion and manners prevailed, that there was nothing very repugnant to national prejudice in such a measure*; and we learn from other sources, that the queens of this period enjoyed great power. The Parysatis † of the Greeks, who was the daughter of Artaxerxes, and the wife of her brother, Darius Nothus, is represented as possessing an influence and authority in the government, approximating to that of Homai. The principal identifying argument against them is the coincidence between the Persian account of the first Darab, and the Grecian Darius Nothus ‡, or Darius the Bastard: nor is it easy to refuse some degree of credit to what Firdousee and other eastern writers relate with regard to the actual reign of Homai, when we consider that, though they have omitted the names of several kings, they cannot be charged with having interpolated one. This, however, is the most obscure epoch of their history. In their tales of this period we have hardly an event § which we can compare with the facts preserved by other nations.

* The two daughters of Khoosroo Purveez were successively raised to the throne.

† This word is from the Persian Peri Zada, or " of fairy race;" a common female appellation in Persia.

‡ Both the Persians and Greeks state that he was of illegitimate birth; and that he changed his name to Darius on ascending the throne.

§ The very imperfect Persian traditions on this part of their history are such as it is impossible to compare with either Ctesias or Xenophon. We have, in fact, no distinct mention of the monarch at whose court the former resided. The younger Cyrus is not noticed by oriental writers; and they never make the slightest allusion to that celebrated expedition which has given immortality to its commander.

If the first Darab * of oriental authors be not the Darius Nothus of the Greeks, we must reject the reign of Homai altogether, supposing it to refer to some confused traditions of the power and grandeur of Parysatis, mixed perhaps with the tale of the incestuous intercourse between Artaxerxes Mnemon and his daughter, Atossa; under this view, if we suppose the reign of Darius Nothus and Artaxerxes Mnemon to be included, by Persian authors, in that of Ardisheer, the dates will nearly correspond †, and the Ochus of the Greeks will be the first Darab of the Persians. With respect to the second Darab, there can be no question: his identity with the Darius Codomanus of the Greeks is completely established by the conquest of Persia by Alexander.

The eastern traditions of the Macedonian hero are very imperfect; and upon a few historical facts they have reared a superstructure of the most extravagant fable. It is unnecessary to examine the connexion between their history of Alexander and the Greek: they agree in most of the leading facts: the invasion of Persia, the defeat and subsequent death of Darius, the generosity of the conqueror, and the strong impression which his noble and humane conduct made upon his dying enemy. The Persians, however, do not concur with the Greeks in their description of Darius: they allege, that he was deformed in body and wicked in mind: but this is obviously a fiction, to re-

* The account which some Persian authors give of the intercourse and alliance between Darab the First, and Philip of Macedon, is an obvious fable, meant to palliate the disgrace of a conquered people, by establishing the right of Alexander as heir to the throne of Persia: this fable, therefore, which makes the first Darab of the Persians a contemporary with Philip, cannot be admitted to affect the conjecture which supposes him to be Darius Nothus. Besides the story of Alexander's birth is disavowed by some of the most respectable Persian historians; and even the poet, Nizamee, in his fine poem on Alexander, rejects this pedigree as a fable. It is, however, to be remarked, that some western as well as eastern romances state, that Alexander was not the son of Philip; and the adultery of Olympias is adduced as the ground upon which she was repudiated, though the divorce did not take place till some time after the birth of Alexander.

† Ardisheer reigned, according to Persian authors, a hundred and twelve years. The united reigns of Longimanus, of Darius Nothus, and Artaxerxes Mnemon, amount to a hundred and six years.

concile the vanity of a people to the tale of its subjugation. We have an allusion to the friendship which Alexander established with Taxilus, or Omphis, and an account of his battle with Porus, and his expedition against the Scythians: but in none of these accounts do we find more than the mere event to place any reliance on: the rest, not excepting the circumstances recorded of his death, is all fable. His great name has been considered sufficient to obtain credit for every story that imagination could invent: but this exaggeration is almost all praise. The Secunder of the Persian page is a model of every virtue and of every great quality that can elevate a human being above his species: while his power and magnificence are always represented as far beyond what has ever been attained by any other monarch in the world.

The confusion Persia was thrown into at the death of Alexander, has caused a great blank in her records: her historians, as has been before stated, take no notice whatever of his immediate successors. A period of nearly five centuries, during which the two branches of the Arsacidæ * governed that country, is reduced to less than three by Persian writers; whose imperfect and contradictory statements warrant us in pronouncing, that all they possess with regard to this epoch is an incorrect catalogue of names. Firdousee passes it over as one of which no trace had been preserved. He states, that at the death of Alexander the Great the empire of Persia fell into a state of confusion, in which it remained for two centuries; governed by petty rulers †, and distracted by internal wars: and adds, that so unstable was the authority of these contending chiefs, that Persia may be considered during the whole of this time as a nation without a sovereign. After this he proceeds to the life of Ardisheer, the founder of the Sassanian race.

The total omission of this period by Firdousee, is calculated to

* We learn from western authors, that there were twenty monarchs of the first branch of the Arsacidæ, who ruled over Parthia two hundred and seventy years: and of the second, eleven, whose reigns occupied a space of two hundred and twenty-one years.

† The Mulook-oo-Tuaif.

increase our reliance on him: it proves that, however he may have indulged in embellishing his subject, he was scrupulous in taking its substance from the Pehlevee manuscripts from which he composed his poem: and we may assume from his silence, that in these no mention was to be found of the Parthian dynasties. The reason of this blank appears obvious. In Persia, as in other countries of similar condition, the terms learned and religious were synonymous. The priest alone cultivated letters; and the great neglect the rites of Zoroaster fell into *, during the reign of the Arsacidæ, may be deemed the principal cause why the same authors who have blazoned the fame of Artaxerxes and his successors, should have consigned the race of monarchs who preceded them to oblivion.

Though western writers have not denied the descent from the ancient kings of Persia, which those of the east claim for Ashk or Arsaces, they have almost all agreed in describing the Parthians † as originally Scythians, or Tartars, who ruled over Persia for several centuries. There are, however, several reasons for doubting this fact; and Strabo expressly states, that "the Parthians, whose territories were on the Tigris, were formerly called Carduchi. The geographical position of Carduchia, the modern Kurdistan, the character of its barbarous and unsubdued inhabitants, and their constant hostility ‡ to the kings

* Sylvestre de Sacy, in his very learned work on the antiquities of Persia, affords us abundant proof that the religion of Zoroaster was neglected under the Parthian kings. He informs us, on the authority of Greek writers, that, though the magi existed as a body long before the time of Artaxerxes, they were held in no respect, and even treated with contempt by the civil magistrates; and the religion can hardly have been observed by those who despised its ministers. But we derive still more convincing evidence from the coins of the Parthian, and of the Sassanian kings. The former have no figures in any way allusive to the religion of Zoroaster: and the inscriptions upon them are in Greek: while the latter are ornamented with a marked symbol of the worship of fire, "an altar and sacred flame: and all the inscriptions are in the ancient language of Persia."—*Antiquités de la Perse*, page 43—45.

† Ferguson asserts this, in his Roman history, on the authority of Justin and Dion Cass. The authors of "The Universal History" also state that they were Scythians.

‡ Xenophon was informed, that the Carduchians "were a warlike nation, and not subject to the king."

of Persia, renders it very probable, that, invited by the confusion into which the country was thrown by the divisions among the successors of Alexander, the Carduchi descended from their mountains, to share in the spoil of a broken empire. But it would be as useless to know, as it is difficult to ascertain, whether the original Parthians *, or, in other words, the first tribes to whom that name was given, came from the Oxus, or the Tigris; for it is obvious, that when that appellation became general, it must have included a hundred races, besides those to which authors have laboured to trace it. All we can safely conclude is, that the period at which the greater part of the kingdom of Persia was known to the European world as Parthia, was one during which it was distracted by the continual contests of its own princes and independent chiefs. That a sense of common danger enabled several of the Parthian monarchs to meet their foreign enemies with great armies, there can be no doubt: and we also know, that the monarchs, whom this circumstance or their superior character had elevated to supreme rule, assumed the proudest state and the highest titles. But these facts are not sufficient to prove that the Arsacidæ ever attained a rank equal to those races of kings by whom they were preceded and followed. The Parthian rulers can perhaps only be deemed the heads of a great confederacy of feudal chiefs, each of whom aspired to regal power †: and, though ignorance and bigotry

* The term Parthia is unknown to Asiatic writers. We are informed by western authors, that in the ancient Scythian it means exiles; and, as such, it is given in proof of their descent. I have been quite unable to trace this etymology, and conceive that it would prove nothing, if traced.

† It has been before observed, that Pliny states that the kingdom of Parthia was divided into eighteen kingdoms.

The condition of Persia, under the Parthian kings, is well described by our own eloquent historian. "The weak indulgence of the Arsacidæ had resigned to their sons and brothers the principal provinces and the greatest offices of the kingdom, in the nature of hereditary possessions. The *vitaxæ*, or eighteen most powerful satraps, were permitted to assume the regal title; and the vain pride of the monarch was delighted with a nominal dominion over so many vassal kings. Even tribes of barbarians in their mountains, and the Greek cities of Upper Asia within their walls, scarcely acknowledged, or seldom obeyed, any superior: and the Parthian empire exhibited, under other names, a lively image of the feudal system, which has since prevailed in Europe."—Gibbon, Vol. I., p. 329.

combined could alone have condemned so long a period of a nation's history to oblivion, there is nothing left to rescue it from the reproach of being a barbarous epoch; and one in which we can discover but few traces or monuments calculated to perpetuate the glory either of the sovereigns, or the country they governed.

From the commencement of the Sassanian dynasty, the history of Persia assumes a new character; and there is as fair an agreement between eastern and western writers as can be expected from authors of different nations. Persian writers have no dates, even during this period: but the length they assign to the reign of each prince generally accords with the more exact chronology of western authors; and we are thus led to grant our belief to the general truth of their history.

The ancient history of Persia, as given by native authors, may be divided into distinct periods*. "The fabulous," which includes all that precedes Kay Kobad, the Dijoces of the Greeks: "the poetical," which contains some facts, and much fiction, from the commencement of the Kaianian dynasty, till the reign of Ardisheer Babigan; and "the historical," which begins with that monarch, and terminates with the overthrow of his dynasty.

Of the first†, or fabulous period, it is impossible to fix the

* Sir William Jones states it as his opinion, "that the annals of the Paishdad, or Assyrian race, may be considered dark and fabulous; those of the Kaiani family as heroic and poetical; and those of the Sassanian kings as historical."—Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 76.

† The following is a table of kings before the conquest of Alexander, according to Persian and Grecian authors.

MONARCHS OF THE PAISHDADIAN DYNASTY, AND PERIODS OF REIGN, ACCORDING TO FIRDOUSEE.

	Years.	
Kaiomurs	30	
Hooshung	40	
Tahamurs	30	
Jemsheed	700	
Zohâk	800 or 1000	Conjectured to be the term of the Assyrian conquest.
Feridoon	1000	
Manucheher	120	
Noozer	7	

dates, with any approach to correctness. In the second, we are aided by Grecian writers; but the difference between these and

	Years.	
Afrâsiâb	12	Conjectured to be the term of the Scythian conquest.
Zoo		Both these princes were contemporaries with Afrâsiâb, and ruled part of Persia.
Kershasp		

THE KAIANIAN DYNASTY OF KINGS.

Names of Kings, and Period of each Reign, according to Firdousee.

	Years.
Kay Kobad	120
Kay Kâoos	150
Kay Khoosroo	60
Lohrasp	120
Gushtasp	60
Bahman	112
Homai	32
Darab the First	12
Darab the Second	12
Total	678

Names of Kings, and Period of each Reign, according to Greek writers.

	A.M.	Years.
Dijoces	3294 to 3347	53
Phraortes	3369	22
Cyaxares the First	3409	40
Astyages	3444	35
Cyaxares the Second	3468	24
Cyrus	3475	7
Cambyses	3482	7
Smerdis Magus	3483	1
Darius Hystaspes	3518	35
Xerxes the First	3539	21
Artaxerxes Longimanus	3581	42
Xerxes the Second	3581	1
Sogdian	3582	
Darius Nothus	3599	17
Artaxerxes Mnemon	3646	47
Ochus	3666	20
Arses	3668	2
Darius Codomanus	3674	6
Total		380

Persian authors, from the period of Dijoces to the invasion of Alexander, is near three centuries. This however seems of less importance, when we consider that the Persian chronology of this period has no foundation but vague tradition. To several of their princes they assign more than a century, and hardly two authors agree. It would be a waste of time to reason upon any accordance in such dates. In comparing the accounts of oriental writers with those of the Greeks, I have neither deemed that the casual agreement nor the disagreement of dates could ever be brought to support or invalidate conclusions, deduced from the more certain and satisfactory source of coinciding facts.

From the death of Alexander till the reign of Ardisheer Babigan, the second Artaxerxes of the Greeks, it is still more impossible to reconcile the Persian dates with those of either Grecian or Roman historians: from the simple fact of Asiatic writers having no account of this period, that merits the name of history. They give a mere catalogue of kings; and their calculation of the years that they reigned is less by some centuries than the actual time which this period includes: for we cannot be mistaken in the duration of the reigns of the Parthian rulers, who flourished during the most remarkable period of Roman history.

The computed dates of Persian authors, from Ardisheer Babigan till the overthrow of Yezdijird, as well as the principal facts they record, correspond sufficiently with western writers for us to term this an historical epoch. The accounts of the Sassanian dynasty are blended with some fables, and frequently embellished with hyperbolical descriptions: but no eastern work is altogether free from these faults; and when we reflect upon the blank in the Persian annals till the rise of this family, and the complete ruin the kingdom was involved in by the Mahomedan conquest, there will appear more cause to congratulate ourselves on the correctness of the general outline that has been preserved, than for regret at the inaccuracies and omissions which we cannot but expect to meet with.

Among the traces of a nation's former glory, there is none on which the mind dwells with more serious thought, than on the magnificent ruins of its ancient palaces. How forcibly are we

reminded of our mortality, when we are told, that an edifice, in the erection of which a kingdom's wealth had been exhausted, adorned with every ornament that the art of the world could supply, and the history of which was engraven on the imperishable rocks it was founded upon, has not only fallen into decay, but that its founder is unknown, and the language, in which its history was written, is no longer spoken by man! Persia abounds with such remains of forgotten splendour: in the emphatic words of a poet of that nation, "the spider weaves its web in the palace of Cæsar! The owl stands sentinel upon the watch-tower of Afrâsiâb *!"

The ruins of the palace of Persepolis are far the grandest that yet remain. From what is left of this proud edifice, we may pronounce, that it once rivalled the noblest fabrics of Greece or of Rome. This is no place for a minute description of its beauties. They have occupied the time and the talents of eminent travellers and artists: nor shall I add to the various opinions which have been offered with regard to the founder of this great monument of Persian art and magnificence, or propose any conjectures upon the meaning of its rich and varied sculpture. Till the inscriptions on its walls are deciphered, these points will probably remain unknown. Persian authors † ascribe this palace

* "Purdadareemekunnud dir Kuser-e-Kyser ankeiboot!
Boomnoubutme zunnud dir goombud Afrâsiâb!"—Firdousee.

† The author of the Zeenut-ool-Mujalis gives the following short account of Persepolis, which, I can state from personal observation, is not much exaggerated in the descriptive parts. It is curious, as it shews what Persians believe concerning these famous ruins.

"Jemsheed built a fortified palace at the foot of a hill, which bounds the fine plain of Murdasht to the north-west. The platform on which it was built has three faces to the plain, and one to the mountain. It is formed of a hard black granite [a]. The elevation from the plain is ninety feet; and every stone used in this building is from nine to twelve feet long, and broad in proportion. There are two great flights of stairs to this palace, so easy of ascent, that a man can ride up on horseback; and on the platform a palace has been erected, part of which still remains in its original state, and part in ruins. The palace of Jemsheed is that now called the Chebel-Setoon [b], or forty pillars. Each pillar is

[a] It is a hard limestone.
[b] All Persian authors state that antimony is found in these ruins.

to Jemsheed; and they name it his Tukht, or throne. They add, that Homai, the daughter of Ardisheer, greatly improved this royal mansion, which she made her constant residence; and that it was destroyed by Alexander*. The city of Istakhr, near which it stood, long survived the destruction of the throne of Jemsheed; and we learn, from historians on whom we can depend, that its inhabitants were distinguished by their inveterate hatred of the conquerors of their country; as if inspired by those fragments of former glory which surrounded them, they maintained a character for pride and courage, not entirely subdued till several centuries after the Arabians first overran Persia†.

Not only the palace of Persepolis, but the face of the mountain at the foot of which it is situated, and many of the rocks in its vicinity, are ornamented with sculpture, in which we may trace a connexion with the page of Firdousee; and there is ample evidence to prove that the Persians were in the habit of representing, in sculpture, both their religious ceremonies, and the principal events of their history. Several of the figures at

formed of a carved stone, is sixty feet[a] high, and is ornamented in a manner so delicate, that it would seem difficult to rival this sculpture upon hard granite[b] in a carving upon the softest wood. There is no granite like that[c] of which these pillars are made, to be now found in Persia; and it is unknown from whence it was brought. Some most beautiful and extraordinary figures ornament this palace; and all the pillars which once supported the roof, (for that has fallen,) are composed of three pieces of stone, joined in so exquisite a manner, as to make the beholder believe that the whole shaft is one piece. There are several figures of Jemsheed in the sculpture: in one, he has an urn in his hand, in which he burns benjamin, while he stands adoring the sun. In another, he is represented as seizing the mane of a lion with one hand, while he stabs him with the other."

* Zeenut-ool-Tuarikh.

† The final ruin of Persepolis is attributed to Sumeanah-ood-douleh, the unworthy son of the virtuous Azd-ood-douleh. Sumeanah-ood-douleh cannot have exercised power before the year 372 of the Hijrah, A. D. 982.

[a] In these measures, the author has used the word *guz*, which I have interpreted *guz-shah*, or royal yard, three feet: there are other *guz* shorter.

[b] The author of the Fars Nameh is quoted, who says it is almost impossible to break this granite; and that, if broke and ground, it is excellent to stop the bleeding of wounds.

[c] The pillars are evidently cut out of the rock, at the foot of which the palace stands, as other pillars half finished, lying on the mountain, attest.

Persepolis are adoring fire; and, near Shahpoor, (a city about eighty miles to the west of Shiraz, and the capital of Shahpoor, or Sapor, the First,) we find, carved upon the rock, a representation of that monarch holding the Roman emperor Valerian prisoner, while he receives some ambassadors, who supplicate the release of the royal captive. Opposite to this monument of triumph are some more pieces of historical sculpture; in one compartment, a king is seated in state, amid a group of figures, one of whom offers two heads to him. This marks the barbarous state of a nation that could suffer its glory to be perpetuated by a representation of such a character.

To Shahpoor the Persian historians also ascribe the foundation of the modern city of Shuster, situated on the Karoon, nearly thirty miles to the east of the ancient capital of Shus, or Susa*. Shus, they inform us, is a Pehlevee word, signifying *pleasant;* and Shuster is the comparative degree, and means *more pleasant.* The same tradition adds, that Shahpoor compelled his Roman captives to aid in building this city; and travellers are shewn the tower where the Persians believe that Valerian was confined: but what renders this city most remarkable among the ancient monuments of Persia, is the dyke in its vicinity, which its founder threw across the Karoon, to turn the course of that river into a channel more favourable to agriculture. This dyke is formed of cut stones, cemented by lime, and fastened together by clamps of iron: it is twenty feet broad, and twelve hundred in length. The whole is a solid mass, excepting the centre, where two small arches have been constructed, to allow a part of the stream to flow in its natural bed. This great work is the more worthy of our attention, from being almost the only one of a useful nature amid those vast ruins, which bespeak the pomp and magnificence of the monarchs of Persia; and it has, as if preserved by its nobler character, survived all the sumptuous palaces and luxurious edifices of the same age. The trifling damage it had sustained from time, and the rapid stream of the Karoon, was repaired a few years ago; and it again fulfils its original purpose, of fertilizing the beautiful plains of Desful.

Shuster, though much reduced in size, is still the capital of a

* Kinnier's "Geographical Memoirs of Persia."

province: it lies at the foot of a range of mountains, and overhangs the Karoon. A bridge, of one arch, which has an elevation of more than eighty feet, connects it with the opposite bank*. Thirty-six miles to the west of Shuster, we begin to trace the ruins of the ancient Shus†, or Susa. These are situated between the modern town of Desful, and the eastern banks of the Karasoo River; along which they stretch upwards of twelve miles. They consist, like those of Babylon, of large mounds‡ formed of bricks and coloured tiles‖. At the foot of one of these mounds stands the tomb of the prophet Daniel§: a small building, but sufficient to shelter some derveishes, who watch the remains of the prophet, and are supported by the alms of such pilgrims as visit the holy sepulchre. These derveishes are now the only inhabitants of Susa; and every kind of wild beast roams at large over that spot, on which some of the proudest palaces ever raised by human art, once stood ¶.

The remains of the palaces of Khoosroo Purveez have been noticed in the account of his reign; but, in the same part of Persia, the province of Irak **, in which these were situated, we

* Kinnier's "Geography of Persia."

† It is sometimes written Sus: the modern pronunciation is Shus.

‡ "A short distance from the Karasoo is one immense elevated mass, about a mile in circumference, and near a hundred feet in perpendicular height. Beyond this is another, not quite so high, but of more than double the circumference. These two mounds have some resemblance to the pyramids at Babylon; with this difference, that, instead of being entirely of brick, they are formed of clay and pieces of tile, with irregular layers of brick and mortar; each layer is five or six feet in thickness, to give strength and support to the mass."—KINNIER's *Geography of Persia.*

‖ Some large blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphics, have been found amid these ruins. They appear to resemble those of Egypt; from their never having been discovered in any other part of Persia, I conclude that they were brought by victorious monarchs to Susa, as trophies.

§ Though the building at the tomb of Daniel be comparatively modern, nothing could have led to its being built where it is, but a belief that this was the real site of the prophet's sepulchre.

¶ There hardly appears a doubt that these ruins are those of Susa: their extent, nature, the materials of which the city was built, the tomb of Daniel, and the traditions of the country, are all strong confirmations of this fact.

** This province includes the greatest part of the ancient kingdom of Media.

find some sculpture, not only far superior to what any of these palaces can boast, but even to that of the far-famed Persepolis.

At a distance of six miles from the modern city of Kermanshah, the excavations from the rock, which are termed Tauk-e-bostan*, present us with some figures in so masterly a style, that we are inclined to believe the Persian monarch, under whose auspices this work was executed, had obtained the aid of Grecian or Roman artists. The mountains in which these excavations are made, form the northern boundary of the plain of Kermanshah. The most considerable is an arch cut in the rock, fifty or sixty feet in height, twenty in depth, and twenty-four in breadth: over the centre of the arch is an emblematical figure, resembling a crescent; and on each side an angel †, with a wreath, or a diadem, in one hand, and a cup in the other. At the extremity of this arched excavation is the gigantic figure of a man on horseback, in full armour. There are three figures ‡ over this, and the sides of the cave are covered with very fine sculpture, representing, in one compartment, the hunting of the wild boar along the banks of a river by men in boats and on elephants; and on the opposite side, the same figures, on horseback and on elephants, pursuing deer. There are a variety of other sculptures at the Tauk-e-bostan; and the labour and knowledge of a French

* The literal translation of this name is "the arch of the garden."

† The figure on the right is tolerably perfect; but the hand and arm of the left figure are the only vestiges of it now visible, a large fragment of the rock having fallen down. The angel on the right is well proportioned, and dressed in loose flowing robes. It would appear, from the shape of the rock, that there must have been some other sculpture and inscriptions immediately above these, which time and the inclemency of the weather have defaced and destroyed.

‡ These three large figures are upright; but so much defaced, that nothing beyond the general outline can be defined. On the right, a female holds a diadem, or circle, in her right hand, with which she is offering to crown the principal male figure in the centre; in her left she has a goblet, as if she were pouring a libation. Over the head of the centre figure, which is larger than the others, is a crescent. His right hand appears to be grasping a ring, with the male figure on his left; in his left hand is a straight sword, resting on the ground, between his feet. The figure on the left is in a long mantle; but what he holds in his left hand cannot be ascertained: the face of this image is still perfect; he has a long beard, and a helmet on his head, with a ball on the top of it.

scholar has, by explaining a Pehlevee inscription*, enabled us to identify two figures, that are cut out of the face of the rock, with Shahpoor Zoolaktaf, and his son Baharam. In another part of this sculpture are two sovereigns holding a ring, or circle, in their right hands, and standing upon a prostrate Roman soldier. A figure, supposed to be the prophet Zoroaster, stands by their side: his feet rest upon a star, and his head is covered with a glory†, or crown of rays. There is no doubt that this sculpture was executed in the reign of Baharam, the founder of Kermanshah; and that the figures represent that monarch and his father, Shahpoor. The ring which they grasp is probably meant as a type of the world; and the prostrate Roman soldier appears to be an emblem of the fallen empire.

The ruins of Babylon have been often described: they consist of large and misshapen mounds‡; that regularity, which distin-

* Silvestre de Sacy has made the following translation of this inscription, which is divided into two parts.

The First—"This figure is that of a worshipper of Hormuzd, or God, the excellent Shahpoor, king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, the son of the adorer of God, the excellent Hormuzd; a king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, grandson of the excellent Narses, king of kings."

The Second—"This figure is that of a worshipper of Hormuzd, or God, the excellent Varahram, king of kings, king of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, son of the adorer of God, the excellent Shahpoor; king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, grandson of the excellent Hormuzd, king of kings."

I gave this inscription to Moollah Firoze, a learned priest of the Parsees at Bombay, and he assured me that the translation of De Sacy was correct. Firoze explained the word An-Iran to mean unbelievers: Eer, he informed me, was a Pehlevee word, which signified believer; Eeran was its plural: in Pehlevee, the *a* or *an* prefixed, is a privative, as in Greek and Sanscrit; consequently An-Eeran meant unbelievers. The king of Eeran and An-Eeran he interpreted to mean king of believers and unbelievers, or of Persia and other nations. It was, he said, a title like king of the world.

† I am informed by the Parsees, or Guebres, that in almost all the paintings or sculptures that represent Zoroaster, he is always distinguished by a crown of rays, or glory, as in that I have described.

‡ If the arrow-headed character be ever deciphered, we may hope to discover many of the particulars of the history of Babylon as well as of Persepolis, for great numbers of bricks of various shapes are found at Babylon, covered with inscrip-



guished the vast palaces of this once proud city, cannot now be traced. Of Ctesiphon, an arch, a hundred and sixty feet in height and eighty-five feet in the span, still stands. Of Seleucia, not a fragment remains. But it would be endless to give even a catalogue of the ruined cities and bridges which once ornamented the Tigris. Along the banks of this celebrated river, the place of former magnificence is now occupied by the scattered tents of Arabian robbers, only desirous to increase that waste with which they delight to be surrounded.

In the north-western parts of Persia there are few traces of its ancient splendour. Oormeah, a town in Aderbejan, celebrated as the birth-place of Zoroaster, and for its temples, has nothing left of its former grandeur. In Tebreez*, the capital of Media, (which, under the Armenian prince, Teridates, usurped the name and attempted to rival the glory of Ecbatana,) we discover hardly any remains of its greatness: nature has combined with man against this city, which has oftener been reduced to ruins by earthquakes than by wars. Even Ecbatana itself, the modern Hamadan, has nothing but the tombs of Mordecai and Esther †

tions in this character. That learned orientalist, Dr. Wilkins, has discovered that the inscriptions which have been brought to Europe are of two different characters; and his observations lead to the conclusion, that this language was written from the left to the right.

* The ancient Tauris.

† They stand near the centre of Hamadan. Sir Gore Ouseley has kindly favoured me with the following translation of a Hebrew inscription on the dome: "Thursday, fifteenth of the month of Adar, in the year 4474 from the creation of the world, was finished the building of this temple over the graves of Mordecai and Esther, by the hands of the good-hearted brothers, Elias and Samuel, the sons of the deceased Ismael of Kashan." From this date (which is in numerical letters, and accords with the Jewish chronology), the dome must have been built eleven hundred years. The tombs, which are of a black-coloured wood, are evidently of very great antiquity: but the wood has not perished; and the Hebrew inscriptions are still very legible. There are the following verses, with the alteration of one expression, from the book of Esther:

"Now in Shushan, the palace, there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shemei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite.

"For Mordecai, the Jew, was next unto King Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted among the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his brethren, and speaking peace *to all Asia.*"

In

to reward curiosity; and the site of Rhe (the ancient Rhages) is hardly to be traced. The capital of Mazenderan, Sari, is noticed in the first dawn of Persian history, and continues, with its name unchanged, a place of some consequence. Within the last century, four temples * of the ancient Persians were yet standing there; the only edifices of this description which have escaped the hand of time, and the persecuting spirit of the Mahomedan religion, if we except those near Baku in Mazenderan, where there are still some very ancient places of worship sacred to fire. These are of stone; and may be termed arched vaults, as the elevation of the highest is not above fifteen feet. To one of the smallest, Hindu pilgrims still resort. A cane or pipe is fixed into the ground near the altar, and through it a light blue flame issues, like that emitted by burning spirits, but purer. Though this phenomenon would be produced by opening the soil in several other spots near Baku which are equally impregnated with fire, yet the flame in this temple is deemed sacred and miraculous by the pious pilgrims from the Ganges.

Khorassan can, no doubt, boast of many ruins; and Bulkh, which was long the seat of empire, perhaps of still more. These countries have been little examined, and merit the attention of travellers. Seestan, the principality of the family of Roostem, is now almost a waste; but the remains of great cities †, along

In the Bible the last phrase is, "speaking peace to all his seed." The more general term, Asia, has probably been added by the vanity of the writer of the inscription. The Jews at Hamadan have no tradition of the causes of Esther and her uncle being interred there. They probably were removed from Susa, after the death of Artaxerxes (Ahasuerus). The Jewish festival of Purim, celebrated on the thirteenth and fourteenth of the month of Adar, in commemoration of the slaughter which the Jews made on those days of their enemies, is still kept up; and at this festival Jewish pilgrims resort to the tombs of Mordecai and Esther from every quarter, and have done so for centuries.

* They are built in the shape of rotundas, about thirty feet in diameter, and one hundred and twenty in height.—*Hanway*, vol. i. p. 199.

† Captain Christie travelled through this province in 1810. He describes several remarkable ruins, particularly those of Poolkha and Dooshak, or Seestan. The latter must once have occupied as great a space as Isfahan. The houses were built of sun-dried bricks, with vaulted roofs, and in general appear to have been two stories high. The modern town of Jullalabad stands amid these ruins: it contains

the fruitful banks of the Helmund*, bear testimony to its former prosperity; and the names of every spot, and of every family, confirm the traditions that this region, now abandoned to a few wretched tribes, whose chief occupation is plunder, was once the proud abode of princes and heroes. The countries on its confines, Mekran and Balochistan, have few traces of ever having emerged from the poor and sterile state they seem to have been condemned to by nature.

This short general view of the antiquities of Persia leads us to consider the character and manners of its former inhabitants; and we are apt to conclude, that there are sufficient traces to warrant a belief that they were well advanced in the arts of civilized life, and enjoyed, under the rule of their ancient kings, a happiness and prosperity far beyond what they have ever since experienced. This opinion has been so generally adopted, it would appear presumption to doubt its correctness. But truth can never suffer from inquiry or discussion; and no part of history is of more consequence than that which relates to government and manners.

Many arguments for the former civilisation and prosperity of Persia are founded on the extent and magnificence of its edifices; but amid their ruins, we find few that were dedicated to purposes of real public utility. The polished fragments of vast palaces, and the remains of flattering sculpture, prove only that they were rich and powerful monarchs, not that they had happy or civilised subjects. The object of ambition among all eastern kings is to enjoy grandeur, and to leave a great name. Their grandeur is comprised in their personal state and magnificent palaces; their fame in conquest. These are the passions which animated a Kay Khoosroo, an Ardisheer, a Noosheerwan, a Chenghiz, a Timoor, and a Nâdir Shah; and to effect such objects, (whatever may be his personal character,) a monarch must be absolute, and his subjects strangers to freedom. That Persia

about two thousand inhabitants, whose ruler, Baharam Khan, terms himself Kaianee, and claims descent from the ancient monarchs of Persia. Captain Christie fell in with a tribe named Noosheerwan. He travelled through a fine valley called Sohrab, and passed a town called Kay Kobad.

* Or Heirmund.

has been, from the earliest days, under despotism, there can be no doubt. At some periods, chiefs of provinces, and heads of noble families, have assumed and maintained their independence; and as these are the only objects we can now trace, we are inclined to believe such was the general condition; but their pretensions and power could only multiply tyrants, and vex the community with internal discord.

We are however told, in Grecian history, that ancient Persia was inhabited by a wise and enlightened race of men, who lived under a just government; and we read in Scripture, that the laws of the Medes and Persians were unchangeable. The accounts which Greek authors have given of the ancient state of Persia are not in contradiction to what I have stated, as every reader will discover, who attends to the few historical events they have recorded. But the facts they relate should be separated from those fabulous parts of their writings, in which they * desire to instruct their own rulers, and to inspire their countrymen with a love of virtue, by ascribing every quality that can dignify human nature to the ancient kings and inhabitants of a country, with the real history of which they were but imperfectly acquainted, and had, therefore, full scope for the indulgence of their imagination.

Of the exact form of the ancient government we only know enough to state that it was a hereditary monarchy; that the sovereign was absolute; and that his person was almost sacred. The kings of Persia, from the earliest ages, have assumed extravagant titles, and lived with great splendour: but they have been always subject to the check, and sometimes to the control, of a military nobility; many of whom, descended from the royal family, held the richest provinces as principalities. It would appear, that in the most ancient times these nobles were always assembled before a monarch was placed upon the throne. Their assent was in fact necessary, as they were from birth the leaders of the army, which was formed from their different quotas. The ministers of the crown seem, as at present, to have been generally chosen from men of learning and experience, but of low birth.

* This observation applies particularly to Xenophon.

Ministerial power was often usurped by chiefs of great family, but never granted: its being in the hands of a powerful military noble implies, in such a government, that the prince is a pageant or a prisoner. The luxury in which Persian kings have always indulged extended to the nobility; and in prosperous times, it must have been generally diffused over the empire. That this luxury could not exist without many of the arts of peace, and a certain progress in civilisation, is obvious: but this progress was continually retarded by the internal wars consequent on the system of the government, and by the recurring irruptions of savage tribes of warriors, who issued, in one quarter, from the shores of the Euxine and the Caspian; and in another, from the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

There would appear every ground to conclude that the ancient government of Persia was nearly the same as that of all barbarous states, the foundation of whose greatness is military power; but there is, perhaps, no better way of judging the condition of a people than by the mode in which its revenue is raised. The collection of the revenues of Persia, we are informed by Herodotus, was first settled by Darius Hystaspes*. He fixed the regular tribute to be paid by each of the inferior governments. This was an innovation; Cyrus had only received presents: in consequence of this new measure, Darius was termed a merchant, while Cyrus was considered as a parent†. The propriety of these appellations must refer to the personal character of the sovereigns, not to their system of collecting the revenue; for that pursued by Cyrus was at once the rudest, the most uncertain, and the most oppressive. We are told that it existed in Persia even before his reign, and it has continued to the present day to be the bane of that kingdom. The sovereign, on his

* Darius Hystaspes divided Persia into twenty satrapies or governments; and, according to Herodotus, fixed its revenue at an amount equal to 2,807,437 pounds of our money; a sum which Robertson deems so small, as to be almost irreconcileable with the many facts concerning the mines, magnificence, and luxury of the east. This amount corresponds almost to a fraction with the revenue now collected in Persia; and that kingdom is certainly at this period in a prosperous condition.

† Cambyses, who also took presents, is termed, in the same passage, a master.

ascending the throne on the annual festival of Nou-Rôze, or the commencement of the year, and on the occurrence of any fortunate event, such as the birth of a son, or a marriage in the royal family, expects or, to speak more correctly, exacts a present from his nobles and officers of state; who follow the same system with their vassals and dependants. The amount is arbitrary: it is regulated by the dictates of avarice, the degree of wealth, the power to oppress, and the means of resistance; and the collision of these causes must always produce effects the most unfavourable for a nation's happiness.

With regard to the laws of the ancient Persians, if we are to understand civil institutions, made for the punishment of criminals according to established usages, and to guard the lives and property of individuals from injustice and power, we may safely pronounce that they never can have existed in a nation which was always under despotic rulers: but, on examining those passages of holy writ in which the laws of the Medes and Persians are mentioned, it will be discovered that the king's word was then as now deemed the fixed and immutable law of the land; and that no more was meant by that phrase, than that when the monarch had once commanded, though it was to commit wrong, even he could not depart from what he had uttered.*

That the ancient Persians inhabited towns and cities, is proved both by history and by the antiquity of some of the most extensive ruins; and we are led to conclude, that in the earliest age of which the Persians have any trace, they must have depended more upon agriculture than on their flocks for their support:

* Many passages in the Bible prove the truth of this interpretation: Daniel's being cast into the lions' den is one of the most remarkable. The power of the king of Persia has undergone no change. The late king, Aga Mahomed Khan, when encamped near Shiraz, said he would not move till the snow was off the mountain. The season proved severe, and the snow remained longer than was expected: the army began to suffer distress and sickness; but the king had said, while the snow remained upon the mountain, he would not move; and his word was as law, and could not be broken. A multitude of labourers were collected and sent to remove the snow; their efforts, and a few fine days, cleared the mountain, and Aga Mahomed Khan marched. This anecdote was repeated to me by one of his chiefs, who was present, with a desire of impressing my mind with a high opinion of Aga Mahomed Khan, who knew, he observed, the sacred nature of a word spoken by the king of Persia.

for, we are informed, they long regarded those who ate animal food with horror*; but we learn from the same authorities, that even in those days a number of tribes used to dwell in tents. The nature, indeed, of the soil and climate is singularly favourable to such a life; and the character of the government must always have given it additional charms. The wandering tribes can enjoy, by moving their tents from elevated to low plains, a continual spring; but their favourite residence has always been amid high mountains. They are reconciled by habit to privations which the hand of power can hardly increase; and their manner of life inspires them with a savage freedom, which only admits of the exercise of a very lenient authority. That of their chiefs is patriarchal; they repay his kindness with inviolable attachment; but, from impatience of insult and oppression, they are prompt to disobedience and revolt. Enemies of learning, and careless of religion, they disdain improvement; and look down from the summits of their barren mountains with a mixture of pity and contempt on the luxurious, but enslaved inhabitants of splendid cities. The character of such a race can never change: and there is probably no difference between the ancient and present Eellyattee, or man of a wandering tribe, except that the former ascended a mountain to adore the sun, or pronounced in a temple of fire the name of Zoroaster; while the latter repeats that of Mahomed, and murmurs a short and hurried prayer in a language of which he is ignorant.

There is every reason to believe that the manners of the ancient Persians were softened, and in some degree refined, by a spirit of chivalry which prevailed throughout that country, from the commencement till the end of the Kaianian dynasty.—Courage was hardly held higher than generosity and humanity; and the first heroes are not more praised for valour than for their clemency and munificence. If we credit Firdousee, most of the laws of modern honour appear to have been understood and

* Zohâk, as has been stated, was the first who introduced this usage; but, perhaps, it was only some of the higher classes, or the order of priests, (as is the case in India,) that lived upon vegetables and milk; but as these were the recorders of this innovation, they would ascribe their feelings of horror to the whole nation.

practised, with an exception in favour of the ancient Persians, whose duels or combats (which were frequent) were generally with the most distinguished among the enemies of their country, or of the human race. The great respect in which the female sex was held was, no doubt, the principal cause of their progress in civilisation. Women were at once the cause of generous enterprise and its reward. It would appear that in former days they had an honourable * place in society; and we must conclude that an equal rank with the males, which is secured to them by the ordinances of Zoroaster, belonged to them long before the time of that reformer, who paid too great attention to the habits and prejudices of his countrymen, to make any serious alteration in so important an usage.

But though there is reason to conclude that the ancient Persians had made some progress in civilisation, and that a spirit of generous valour was cherished among the higher orders of the military class, there is no ground to suppose that the community ever enjoyed a good government or just laws. In the remoter ages, the power of the sovereign was but faintly acknowledged by great feudal lords, who held lands (which had become hereditary) on the tenure of military service. This, which appears to have been the first rude state of every monarchy, was changed when the paramount chief, or king, gained strength: but when the various petty princes, or lords of provinces and tribes, were subdued, the only government that an absolute ruler of such a country could substitute, led, by a natural recurrence, to the same state of affairs. It was a progress, not in a line that advanced, but in a circle, which terminated where it began. The wisest and most powerful monarchs knew no other mode of settling their empire than that of dividing it into petty governments, each ruled by a lieutenant, or officer, whom western writers call satrap †, and who held his government on condition

* We are told by Quintus Curtius, that Alexander would not sit in the presence of Sisygambis till told to do so by her; because it was not the custom in Persia for sons to sit in presence of their mothers.

† This appears to be a corruption of chattrapa, or "lord of the umbrella of state," which, it is probable, these provincial rulers were allowed to bear. The

of paying certain revenues, and of furnishing a fixed quota of troops. As the sovereign power became weak, its officers would usurp upon it, and the result would be the establishment of families, strong from influence and wealth, and the fall of the monarchy by the insurrections and rebellions of the petty principalities it had reduced and recreated. This describes the condition of every uncivilized state in the world; but no nation to which it applies can be said to possess either good laws or good government.

With regard to the morals of the ancient Persians, we are left entirely in the dark. The historians of that nation never write of common men; and it is, perhaps, unfair to judge of the mass by what we find recorded of their kings and heroes. If we should, the sentence would not be favourable. But such illustrious personages have, in all ages and countries, deemed themselves exempt from vulgar restrictions; and we can only observe, that if their example was generally followed, the morals of the Persians cannot have been much better than their government and laws.

It is difficult to say to what extent learning was cultivated among the ancient Persians. Noosheerwan was the first monarch whom historians notice as the founder of a college; but the mobuds, or priests, had their books of religion; and the Chronicles of the Kings of Persia were preserved with great care. The learned were early distinguished for their knowledge of astrology, which implies a limited acquaintance with astronomy; but this study, as well as all others, appears to have been confined to the mobuds; and it is evident that their boasted learning, under the greatest of the Sassanian kings, was much below that of their western neighbours—for the philosophers of the Roman empire returned disappointed from the court of Noo-

distinction of bearing an umbrella is common to many countries of Asia; that it was known in Persia is evident, from the sculpture of Persepolis, where the umbrella of state often marks the prince, or chief, in a group of figures. *Chattra*, "umbrella," is a term common to Persic and Sanscrit. *Pa*, a short form of *pati*, (lord,) is now lost in the former, though preserved in the latter. The name, or rather title, of chattra pati, "lord of the umbrella," distinguishes one of the highest officers in the federal government of the Mahratta state.

sheerwan*. Whatever treasures in science and learning the ancient Persians may have possessed, are lost or destroyed†; and the reputation of the country has, perhaps, owed much to a loss which has given rise to a regret, disposed to magnify the value of what it cannot recover.

The ancient Persian must, from his climate and food, have been athletic and strong, and of good personal appearance. An author of just fame ‡, probably taking his notion from some of the oppressed followers of Zoroaster, whose very looks have been changed by their hard condition, has pronounced that the former inhabitants were inferior to the moderns, whose beauty of frame has, he conceives, been improved by the blood of the Georgians, the Circassians, and the other nations they have intermingled with. But if we judge from the descendants of the ancient Persians settled in Guzerat and at Bombay, of the purity of whose blood there can be no doubt, as they never intermarry with other races, we should decide, from their present appearance, changed as they must be from a residence of eleven centuries in an enervating climate, that the former inhabitants were superior in looks to the present, who belong to a hundred mixed races, which have poured upon that kingdom since the overthrow of Yezdijird.

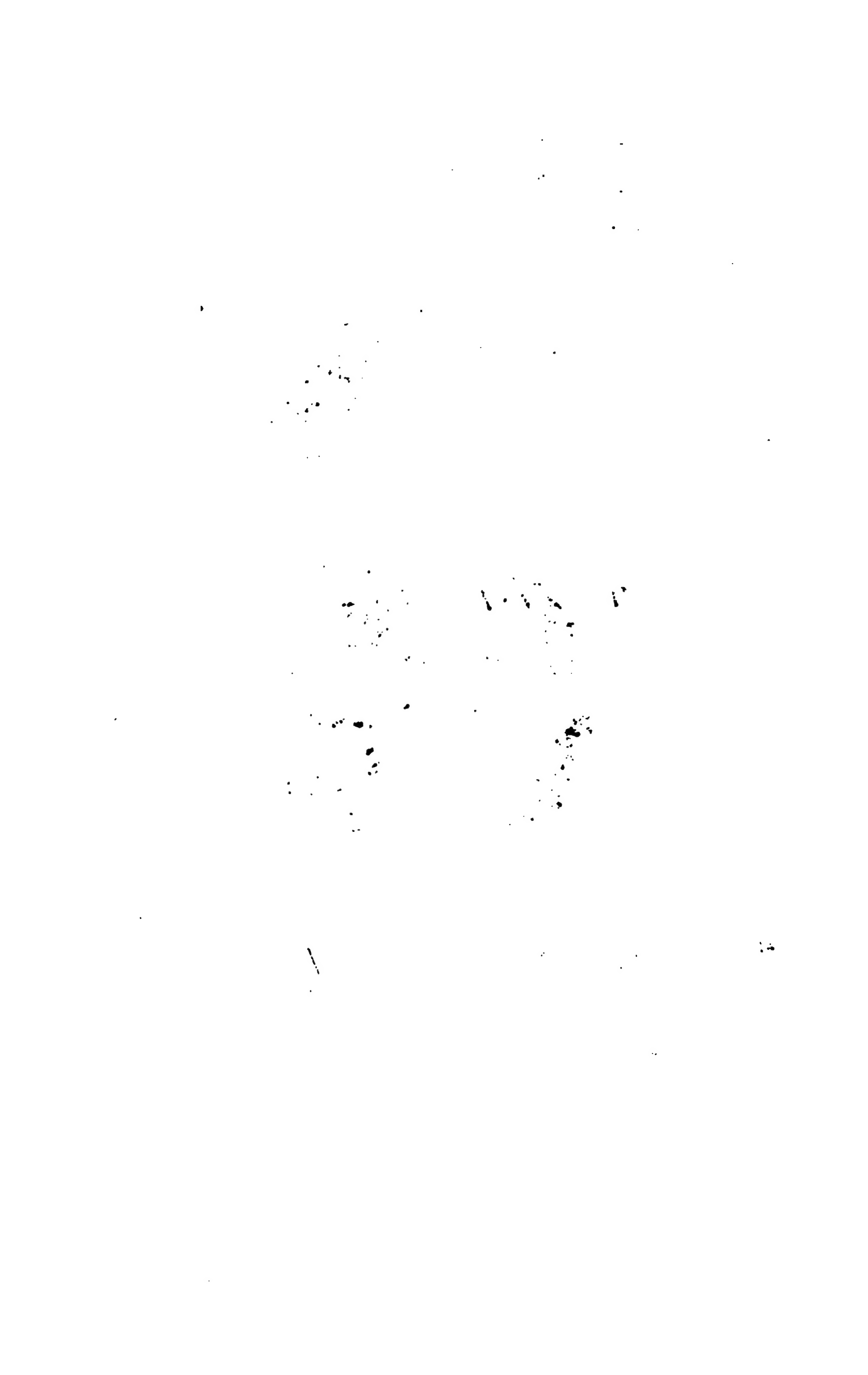
* Gibbon.

† I never have been able to hear of the existence of any work in the ancient Pehlevee that could be deemed historical. Chardin informs us that Abbas the Great made every possible search after manuscripts in that language; and that he put one of the priests of the Guebres to death in consequence of his disappointment. The collection made by him amounted to twenty-six volumes; and Chardin says they were lodged in the Royal Library at Isfahan. He gives us a plate, said to be taken from these volumes: it only exhibits a specimen of the kufick and arrow-headed characters. He also states, that a Guebre read to him, for three months, out of a book relating to their religion and usages, said to have been written in the time of Yezdijird. I have no doubt that this was one of their books of Rowayat, or ordinances, of which the Guebre priests at Yezd, and at Bombay, have several.

‡ Chardin.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
Printed by William Clowes,
Stamford-street.






3 2044 020 116 406



